HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVIII, No. 24

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June 15, 1968

35¢

The RFK Assassination

When Will the Violence End?

The tragic murder of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy has once again left Americans in a state of shock, anguish and frustration. They are horrified that such a cruel event could take place in their country, even though such vicious crimes have been occurring with increasing frequency in recent years. And they feel nothing but an inarticulate sorrow for the widow and for the tragedy-beset parents whose third son has been cut down in the prime of life.

What, Americans are asking themselves, breeds such awful crimes as the assassination of a President four and a half years ago and now the slaying of two public figures in a period of two months? What causes the general lawlessness in the land?

Are we, as is now being charged, a "sick society" corroded with hatred and prejudice? Have Americans, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr., declares, become "the most frightening people on this planet"?

Before sinking into such a guilt-ridden and despairing mood, it might be wise to gain perspective on this new tragedy by pointing out that the turbulence sweeping across America is engulfing other countries as well.

The United States is not the only nation in which public figures have been felled by assassins. In the last five years, at least one foreign president, four prime ministers and two foreign ministers have been murdered.

We are not like the Communist societies whose rulers have purposely and systematically unleashed aggression against virtually every non-Communist country in the world and deliberately murdered their own people by the millions. We are not like deGaulle's France where an entire country was recently brought to its knees by a general strike.

This is not to say we are perfect, of course, but 200 million Americans, as President Johnson remarked, did not kill Bobby Kennedy. It was the work

Flanking Sen. Kennedy only minutes before he was shot during his victory rally in California are his wife, Ethel and California Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh.

of a single assassin from foreign shores. Moreover, as in the first Kennedy killing in 1963, the assassin evidently embraced the alien ideology of communism, an ideology which Mr. Schlesinger and other intellectuals of his stripe are always dismissing as irrelevant and inconsequential.

Lee Harvey Oswald was an avowed Marxist, who belonged to such organizations as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, the Jordanian who almost certainly dispatched the murderous bullet through Bobby Kennedy's brain, is strongly anti-American and, according to reported excerpts from his diary, admires communism as practiced by both the Soviets and the Red Chinese.

In short, if we are a "sick society," we seem to be sick to the extent that the Schlesingers and others have failed to arouse in their own countrymen an understanding of the corrosive dangers inherent in Marxist tenets.

Yet, after all this is said, it must be conceded that the American people are justified in believing that something is dreadfully wrong, that events are drifting beyond the control of its leaders, beyond moral and traditional boundaries. For Bobby Kennedy's murder is only the most dramatic of recent killings.

Commenting on Kennedy's shooting, Rep. H. R. Gross said he was "shocked" by the awful deed, but was "equally shocked by the wanton slaying of two Marine officers at about the same time this morning in the District of Columbia. I am equally shocked by the wanton murder of an 18-year-old high school boy last Sunday morning in the District of Columbia and by the senseless slaying of a bus driver a few days ago in the district. All of this is a pattern of lawlessness and criminality that has made this a sick nation."

The liberals among us attribute this lawlessness to poverty, prejudice and the violence in Viet Nam. But clearly these are not the major causes. There was more prejudice a hundred years ago. There was more poverty during the depression. The United States, by carefully refraining from bombing important enemy targets, is using far less force in Viet Nam than it did in Korea or in World War II, when we dropped the atomic bomb on two populous Japanese cities killing hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

The *Wall Street Journal*, we think, has put its finger on our troubles when it pointed out last week that the violence afflicting our country has been "accorded an aura of legitimacy."

Violence is "not only being condoned by opinion molders," said the *Journal*. "Ministers of God have been heard advocating violence under certain conditions in such causes as civil rights. Other intellectuals justify the violence at Columbia University as a useful advance of social progress. These men are to be blamed for the precept and example they set, not least the encouragement they give to the deranged among us."

Elaborating on this point last Wednesday, Gov. Ronald Reagan stated: "The average man, decent, law-abiding, God-fearing, is as disturbed and worried as you and I about what happened. He and all of us are the victims of an attitude that has been growing in our land for nearly a decade—an attitude that says a man can choose the laws he must obey, that he can take the law into his own hands for a cause, that crime does not necessarily mean punishment.

"This attitude has been spurred by demagogic and irresponsible words of so-called leaders in and out of public office and it has been helped along by

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944
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James L. Wick (1897-1964)
Milton I. Wick, Publisher Emeritus

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Address all subscription inquiries, complaints, address changes and other correspondence to Human Events, 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. For address changes print your new address on a plain sheet of paper and attach a copy of the address label from a recent issue of Human Events.

Bound volumes, fully indexed. Any year, $20.00. Any five years $100.00.

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Past volumes of *Human Events* on microfilm available directly from University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Reprinted bound volumes, 1960 and prior, available directly from Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

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Human Events **is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon below).**

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N. Y. 10011.

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Capital Briefs

● Political insiders believe that the Democratic convention in Chicago is likely to honor the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy by offering Sen. **Ted Kennedy** the vice presidential spot.

● As a result of Kennedy's assassination, President Johnson has predictably named a commission to study the **causes of violence** in this country, but few expect that much good will come from it. The commission, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, is lopsided with liberals and is very unlikely to stress the need for strict law enforcement, better judges and an end to the coddling of criminals. Instead, the recommendations are expected to be similar to those of the Kerner Commission.

● A chief reason Bobby was killed was that he appeared almost oblivious to the **danger of a mob**. Though Los Angeles Police Chief Thomas Reddin had repeatedly offered Kennedy police protection, the candidate didn't feel the need for it. Only a few weeks before his assassination, Fresno Police Chief H. R. Morton withdrew his men from Kennedy functions following requests from aides declaring that "the senator does not like policemen and does not like blue uniforms" while campaigning.

● Strong support of the **nation's police** was voiced last week from an unexpected source, liberal intellectual George Kennan. In a speech at Williamsburg, Va., Kennan was sharply critical of the "excess of tolerance" exhibited by many in authority toward arson, looting and rioting. "In the face of the provocations given," Kennan said, "I find the charges of police brutality simply ludicrous."

● It received scant notice because of the assassination of Sen. Kennedy, but three would-be members of the **Poor People's Campaign** were arrested last week in Washington and charged with the cold-blooded murder of two Marines. The trio, all Californians, had arrived in Washington a few days earlier and were scheduled to move into Resurrection City that night, according to police.

● Ambassador-designate to the United Nations **George W. Ball** has sharply criticized congressional legislation denying Export-Import Bank credits for the sale of machine tools to the Soviet Union's **Fiat automobile plant**. Both military experts and officials at the Department of Commerce acknowledge that these machine tools could be used for the manufacturing of military hardware by the Soviets—Hanoi's chief supplier of arms—but Ball complained to a Senate subcommittee last week that congressional efforts at blocking the Fiat deal would "deprive American industry of very profitable business."

● A top Pentagon official has conceded that the Soviet Union is making giant strides in **undersea warfare** and may now have superiority in some respects over the United States. Dr. John S. Foster Jr., director of defense research and engineering, told a closed-door House subcommittee that the Reds' latest-model nuclear submarines were in many ways better than ours. Details were blue-pencilled by Pentagon censors.

● **David Victor Harris**, 22, former student body president of Stanford University and husband of folksinger Joan Baez, has been convicted of refusing to accept induction into the Armed Forces of the United States. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment.

● Vice President Hubert Humphrey's recent showering of praise upon the Chilean ambassador to Washington, **Radomiro Tomic**, has not gone down too well with veteran diplomats. Many of them believe Humphrey should have been more restrained, since Tomic has vigorously assailed U.S. foreign policy, including our intervention in the Dominican Republic and South Viet Nam.

● Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R.-Mo.), a top GOP expert on finance, declared last week that LBJ's **"bare-bones" budget** could be cut by $17 billion without touching Viet Nam or poverty funds. Curtis suggested these cuts: troops in Europe ($2 billion); research and development, $3 billion; public works ($3 billion); space ($1.5 billion); farm subsidies ($2 billion); federal personnel ($1 billion); saving on interest on the federal debt resulting from the above savings ($1 billion).

● American expatriate **Robert Franklin Williams** has left Peking, at least temporarily, for Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania. Williams, a fiery black nationalist wanted in this country for kidnapping, is staying with Sheik Abdul Mahammad Babu, a Peking-trained revolutionary who is Tanzanian minister of Lands, Settlement and Water Development.

● An organizer for the Seafarers International Union, Albert J. Cupp, was sentenced to 10 years in prison last week for **conspiracy to bomb a ship** owned by an "anti-labor" firm. The sentence will run concurrently with a five-year term imposed in Marquette, Mich., for the bombing of railroad tracks. The ship bombing occurred during a 1965 dispute between the Jessel's owner, Upper Lakes Shipping Ltd., and the SIU.

● The Scripps-Howard newspapers report that a poll of **23 foreign journalists** working in Washington discloses that almost to a man they believe the Republicans will win in November, "no matter who wins that nomination."

● FBI officials disclose privately that the trail has grown cold in the search for **James Earl Ray**, suspected assassin of the Rev. Martin Luther King. Officials lean increasingly to the view that Ray was a hired killer and that he has been liquidated by his employers.

● **Ronald Reagan** has told GOP delegates that "under no circumstances" would he run for vice president on a ticket headed by Nelson Rockefeller. But Rocky remains hopeful he can sweet talk Reagan into changing his mind.

● **Federal aid to education** now totals $12 billion a year, a figure that liberals in Washington hope to increase sharply. Scripps-Howard correspondent Ray Cromley reported last week that "there are expectations that when the Viet Nam war is ended this amount [$12 billion] will double or triple."

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Did Reds Influence Sirhan?

The liberal press is trying to knock down the idea, but there can be no question that Bobby Kennedy's suspected slayer, Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, had left-wing extremist ties. Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty said last week the Jordanian-born Sirhan, who is in the United States on a permanent resident status, "does a lot of writing pro-Communist and anti-capitalist, anti-United States. Evidently he was quite pro-Arab in the Arab-Israeli matter. He has 'Long Live Nasser' written in there [Sirhan's notes].

SIRHAN

"And he said he favors communism of all types, whether Russian, Chinese and so forth."

Human Events learns from intelligence sources, moreover, that the evidence is strong that Sirhan participated in at least two Communist organizations, including the Communist-controlled W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. Mayor Yorty said last week that Sirhan's car had been spotted near a building where the local W. E. B. DuBois Club was holding a meeting. The name of another Communist organization that Sirhan was in contact with or belonged to is being kept under wraps by police who are afraid that its revelation could destroy their contact in the organization.

Sirhan's "Long Live Nasser" quote has also pricked the curiosity of government security officials. Sirhan was born in Jordan, but his hero turns out to be the Egyptian Nasser, who has become Soviet Russia's pawn in the Middle East.

Few security officials actually believe that the Communists ordered or planned Bobby Kennedy's assassination, but they point out that Sirhan, like Oswald, appears to have been greatly influenced by Communist ideology and actions.

RFK a RAM Target

An undercover police agent disclosed last week that Sen. Kennedy had been marked for death by the black nationalist Revolutionary Action Movement.

Detective Edward Lee Howlette made the charge in the New York trial of Herman B. Ferguson, Negro educator charged with conspiracy to murder Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

Howlette, himself a Negro, had infiltrated the Black Brotherhood Improvement Association in September 1965. The group, which Ferguson headed, was described by Howlette as an arm of RAM.

Howlette testified that on May 18, 1967, while driving to a firing range for target practice, Ferguson recited a "list of names given to him by Max Stanford as targets of terrorism—people who should be assassinated."

On that list: Wilkins, Young and Kennedy.

Stanford, a Philadelphian, is RAM's chief. He has been indicted with Ferguson in the alleged plot.

Howlette testified that he was a member, along with Ferguson, of a three-man "terrorist cell" that was to arrange for the murders of Wilkins and Young. The detective said that he and Ferguson sought to acquire weapons for the assassination and traced the daily movements of the two Negro leaders in preparation for the kill.

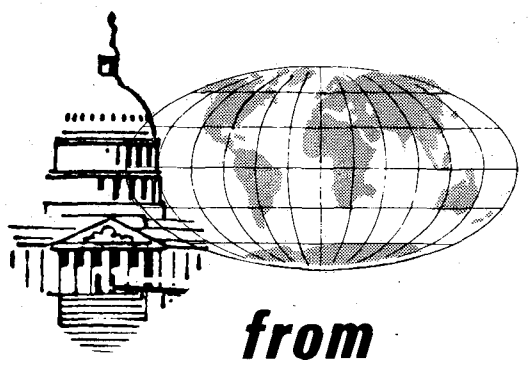
"After Roy Wilkins is killed, we might decide to kill our President, Lyndon Johnson," Ferguson was quoted by Howlette as saying.

HUD Passes Out the Goodies

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has announced that 12 more U.S. cities have received urban planning grants under the Administration's controversial Model Cities program. Interestingly enough—but not surprising—a majority of the 12 cities are represented in Congress by liberal Democrats and, moreover, all cities are in districts whose representatives voted against a 1967 move to cut virtually all funds from the high-cost program.

Human Events readers will recall that the first Model Cities planning grants were made by HUD last November, going to a total of 63 metropolitan

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

areas. Of the initial 63 recipients, only nine were represented in Congress by Republicans.

One of the Democratic cities was tiny Smithville, Tenn., represented in Congress by Rep. Joe Evins (D.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee which handles the Model Cities budget.

Another controversy over the program developed when it was learned that Atlanta's model cities project was being administered in part by an official of the United Klans of America (UKA), the largest and most powerful klan organization in the country (see *Human Events*, Feb. 3, 1968). Early this year Calvin Craig, the Grand Dragon of Georgia's UKA branch (who now says he has quit Klan activities), was elected vice chairman of the federally funded model cities program in Atlanta. Another klan member also received an important position in the program.

In his fiscal 1969 budget, LBJ requested $1 billion for the model cities program, three times more than the fiscal '68 appropriation.

The Senate has already approved the request, in the Administration's Housing and Urban Development bill (S 3497) and a similar bill (HR 15624) is now under consideration in the House. Readers should let their representatives know they do not want their tax dollars used for pork barrel projects benefitting either Big City liberal Democrats or klan racists.

• The most recent HUD Model Cities grants went to the following 12 cities listed together with their representatives. Each of these lawmakers voted against Rep. Robert Michel's (R.-Ill.) motion in 1967 to scrap most of the funds for this boondoggle: Athens, Ga., Rep. Robert Stephens Jr. (D.); Wichita, Kan., Rep. Garner Shriver (R.); Bowling Green; Ky., Rep. William Natcher (D.); New Bedford, Mass., Rep. Hastings Keith (R.); Worcester, Mass., Rep. Harold Donohue (D.); Flint, Mich., Rep. Don Riegle (R.); Saginaw, Mich., Rep. James Harvey (R.); Butte and Helena, Mont., Rep. Arnold Olsen (D.); Cohoes, N.Y., Rep. Daniel Button (R.); Winston Salem, N.C., Rep. Nick Galifianakis (D.); McAlester, Okla., Rep. Carl Albert (D.).

Resurrection Rumbles

The Poor People's campaign is out of control and the Nation's Capital is threatened with wholesale violence. That was the verdict last week not of opponents but of former supporters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference project.

One highly placed Administration official told the New York *Times* that the Rev. Ralph Abernathy "has lost control of the thing and is bobbing along like a cork in the current."

Civil rights activist Bayard Rustin, brought in to direct the SCLC's giant march on Washington on June 19, pulled out, temporarily at least. Rustin warned that unless immediate changes were instituted by SCLC leaders, the march "could lead to violence."

In a statement aimed at Abernathy, the Rev. James Bevel and the Rev. Hosea Williams, Rustin said:

"Demagoguery and fanaticism and violent rhetoric are our deadly enemies," he said. "If they continue

Reies Tijerina gesticulates during a news conference at Resurrection City; at left is Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

unabated, they will ultimately deprive us of our civil liberties and elementary human rights. I have no doubt that there are violent forces in this country—perhaps in Washington, too—who would welcome a violent confrontation."

• Violence continues at Resurrection City. Ivan C. Brandon, a Negro reporter for the Washington *Post*, was robbed and savagely beaten last week as he covered a story at the encampment. Other newsmen have been cursed, spat upon and roughed up. *Human Events* columnist Holmes Alexander reports that last Wednesday, even though he showed his pass, he was told by a surly Resurrection City "marshal": "Vamoose. Get out. Fast-Fast. Or I'll put my boys on you."

• The Rev. James Bevel, a leader in the Poor People's campaign, recently acknowledged his Marxist views to congressional aides in the Senate auditorium. Appearing there on May 21, Bevel said the poor people's struggle in this country is "economic class warfare" and that he looks forward to the day when the wealth of this country is redistributed and the means of production turned over to the people. "Personally," said Bevel, "capitalism is intellectually incompatible with me." (For more on Bevel's extraordinary speech, see page 6.)

Hruska Favored as Whip

Conservative Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.) is the morning line favorite to succeed liberal Thomas Kuchel as Senate GOP whip. Kuchel was defeated in last week's Republican primary by conservative Max Rafferty (see page 5).

HRUSKA

Hruska has not yet declared his candidacy, but Senate insiders feel Hruska has the job all but locked up. One solon said that Hruska was likely to have opposition from the liberal wing of the party—"but they don't have the votes."

Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) is the liberal most likely to challenge Hruska. But minority leader Everett Dirksen is known to favor Hruska and Scott is given little chance of victory.

The vacancy will be filled by the Republican caucus when the new Congress convenes next January. The man selected whip will have the inside track to become the next GOP Senate leader.

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Crime Bill Passes

In the wake of Bobby Kennedy's assassination, the efforts by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) to weaken the Senate's omnibus anti-crime bill were thwarted and the legislation was finally passed by the House last week by an overwhelming 368-to-17 margin.

Sixteen of the 17 who opposed final passage were liberal Democrats, including Representatives William Fitts Ryan (N.Y.), John Conyers (Mich.) and Phillip Burton (Calif.). The sole Republican to oppose the bill was Rep. Thomas Curtis (Mo.), who said he voted against the measure because of the way it was rushed through the House without following the normal procedures.

The House, however, had circumvented customary handling of the legislation for two reasons: (a) Kennedy's death, and (b) Rep. Celler's announced intention to radically alter the bill if it got to conference. In a Senate-House conference situation, Celler, by virtue of his position as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, could probably have eliminated or greatly altered Titles II and III dealing with confessions and wiretapping respectively. Celler, however, was blocked from wrecking the legislation through a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats.

The final bill that went to the White House was a severe blow to the Administration, which had fought most of its basic provisions.

Title I, the Safe Streets provision, authorizes $100 million in federal aid the first year and $300 million the second to help states and local agencies enforce the law. Most of the money would be handed to the states in block grants, according to their population. The Administration was opposed to this approach since it will leave the federal bureaucrats very little control over how these funds are distributed.

Title II of the bill modifies a number of Supreme Court decisions. Applicable only in the federal courts and the courts of the District of Columbia, it makes "voluntariness" the sole test of the validity of a confession in criminal cases. The bill specifies that the trial judge shall determine whether, all circumstances considered, the confession is voluntary. He is not automatically required to bar its use solely because the police delayed in bringing the suspect before a magistrate for arraignment or because they did not advise him of his right to remain silent before obtaining the confession.

The Administration, bolstered in the Senate by Joseph Tydings (Md.) and in the House by Celler (N.Y.), however, opposed even this tiny attempt to modify Supreme Court rulings which have forced the release of self-confessed killers.

Title III permits wiretapping and bugging by federal, state and local law officers under court order in national security cases and a long list of suspected federal and state crimes. The Administration wanted all wiretapping and bugging limited to national security cases.

Title IV bans interstate mail order sales of handguns and permits over-the-counter sales of handguns within a state only to residents over 21. Rifles and shotguns are not covered by the restrictions. The bill also outlaws possession of any sort of firearms by persons convicted of a felony, mental incompetents, Americans who have renounced their citizenship and aliens illegally in this country.

Very few believe that this bill is perfect. Both Republicans and Democrats see many areas where the bill can be amended. But most conservative lawmakers think it is at least a step in the right direction.

Even if the President signs the present bill, however, the legislation faces continued assault by liberals. Chairman Celler has not given up his hopes for amending or eliminating the sections reversing rulings of the Supreme Court on confessions. This coming week, he has announced, he will introduce new legislation to emasculate the portions permitting voluntary confessions to once again be introduced into federal criminal cases.

Judge Bawls Out D.C. Officials

Judge Alfred Burka of the Court of General Sessions in Washington has blasted city officials in Washington for their handling of the April riots. After sentencing several persons who had engaged in looting or rioting, the judge said the failure of city officials to order the police to arrest rioters and to announce in unequivocal terms that looters and arsonists would be severely punished led to more crime than was necessary.

"I have questioned several police officers," Judge Burka declared, "and there is no doubt in my mind they operated with implicit or implied orders not to make arrests." City and police officials had vigorously denied that was the case.

The first seven defendants all had records of steady employment and all but one had salaries of $100 or more a week. Three earned more than $160 weekly. Most of them had had no previous involvement with the law.

Judge Burka also said that "people we were depending upon to uphold law in the district were involved in the disorder and very few of them were caught."

Judge Burka asked Nathaniel Dodds, 51, one of the defendants:

"Would you have gone [with the looters] if you had been warned that looters would be arrested or shot?"

"No sir," Dodds replied. "People told me the police weren't arresting anybody, and I thought it was all right, since everybody else was doing it." He added that he saw "lots of police around, but nobody was being arrested." The six others sentenced also said they did not expect arrest because everybody else was looting.

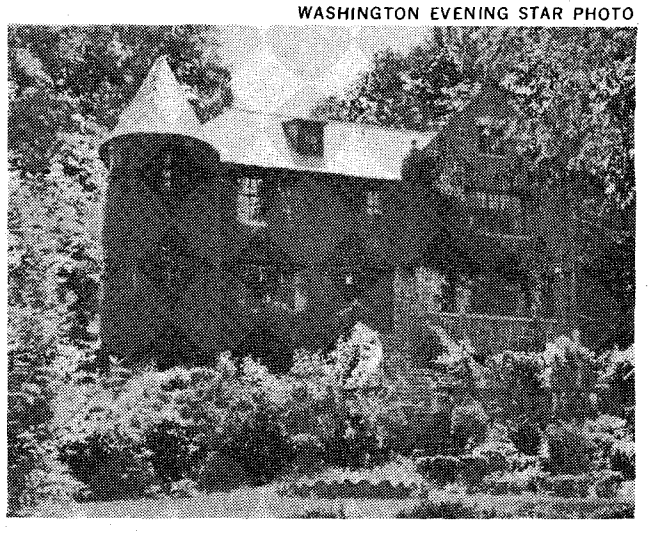
Judge Burka feels that if the city had made it clear that arrests would be made, many with spotless police records would not have been tempted to engage in any looting or rioting.

Stokely's 'Ghetto' House

Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael and his bride, African folk singer Miriam Makeba, are negotiating to buy the $70,000 house pictured below. The three-story, four-bedroom house is located at 4331 Blagden Avenue in the mainly Negro "Gold Coast" area of upper Northwest Washington.

The owner of the house has accepted a written purchase offer from the Carmichaels, subject to further discussions on the financing, according to sales manager Archie Kennedy of the Floyd E. Davis real east company. Carmichael, of course, has long contended that he is a representative of the "poor people"; he also claims that Negroes in America have no chance to better themselves. Currently, "ghetto leader" Carmichael is a Washington-based field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

WASHINGTON EVENING STAR PHOTO



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When Will the Violence End?

some in places of authority who are fearful of the wrong, but timid about standing for what is right. So doing, they have thrown our nation into chaos and confusion and have bred a climate that permits this tragedy.

"This nation can no longer tolerate the spirit of permissiveness that pervades our institutions."

Gov. Reagan named no names, but some of the most irresponsible statements about civil disobedience have come from the very people who last week were deploring what they consider to be the climate of hate pervading the country. Our highest leaders have condoned the violence; with hideously tragic irony, three of those who so nonchalantly appeared to tolerate civil disobedience—Dr. Martin Luther King, John Kennedy and Bobby Kennedy—have been struck down by assassins.

President John F. Kennedy in 1963 said that "in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens for which there are no remedies at law. Unless the Congress acts, their only remedy is in the streets."

Adali Stevenson in 1964 declared that "in the great struggle to advance civil and human rights . . . even a jail sentence is no longer a dishonor but a proud achievement."

Robert Kennedy in 1965 claimed that "there is no point telling Negroes to obey the law. To many Negroes the law is the enemy."

Vice President Hubert Humphrey similary condoned violence in 1966 when he said that if he had to live in a slum, "I think you'd have more trouble than you have had already, because I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions."

As late as March of this year, Bobby Kennedy remarked: "The more riots that come on college campuses, the better the world for tomorrow." And only two weeks ago, John Kenneth Galbraith, the chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, in discussing the Columbia University revolt in which students held a dean hostage and rifled the president's office, declared, amazingly, that "some dissent and some revolt are desirable . . . we should not automatically be on the same side of the barricades as the Columbia trustees." "Ultimately," he remarked, "I suspect this has something to do with intellectual liberty."

Indeed, the approbation given those who participate or preach violence is startling. Nor is it confined to political leaders courting minority votes. The mass media, including such respected papers as the New York *Times*, have repeatedly glorified revolutionaries like Fidel Castro. The Macmillan publishing company has just put out a book totally sympathizing with Ernesto (Che) Guevara, describing this apostle of communism and murder as a hero of the "oppressed everywhere" on the globe.

The leaders of Students for a Democratic Society and "Black Power" groups openly advocate initiating guerrilla warfare in this country, but when the House Committee on Un-American Activities points to this fact, the liberal press roasts the committee for supposedly failing to understand urban problems. With his attacks on America and his calls for insurrection, Stokely Carmichael is virtually a traitor. But when he returned to this country last year after attending the guerrilla warfare school in Havana, Cuba, he was honored or accepted by many, including the vice chairman of the Washington, D.C., city council, an LBJ appointee.

The courts, as almost everyone now knows, have been extremely tolerant of criminals and have handed down a host of technical decisions that have freed self-confessed killers. Only last week the Supreme Court refused to uphold the convictions of both a murderer and a rapist on the incredible grounds that persons opposed to capital punishment were excluded from both juries.

The list of such events goes on and on. But until the entire country wakes up to the fact that what is needed in this nation are political and academic leaders who do not cater to lawbreakers and judges who are concerned with sound law enforcement, the chances are that the level of violence in America will continue to spiral upward.

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POLITICS '68

RAFFERTY

Conservatives across the country were jubilant last week as Dr. **Max Rafferty**, California's state superintendent of public instruction, defeated incumbent Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** for the Republican senatorial nomination. In winning over Kuchel, Rafferty unseated one of Congress' most liberal Republicans whose career in the Senate spanned 15 years. Returns from 20,714 of 21,301 precincts gave Rafferty 1,056,038 votes and Kuchel 985,097.

RAFFERTY

Dr. Rafferty, an outspoken conservative, won an **impressive victory** in the teeth of overwhelming opposition from many quarters. Kuchel, with a campaign budget of over $500,000, had virtually the unanimous support of the state's metropolitan press, including the powerful **Los Angeles Times**. He also had the use of the crackerjack political consultant firm of Spencer-Roberts, the same firm that is employed by Gov. Ronald Reagan. In addition to this, Kuchel was helped by Reagan's "golden silence" and the governor's order to all of his closer political advisers, many of whom sympathized with Rafferty, not to take sides in the campaign.

In spite of all these obstacles, however, Rafferty managed to subdue the Senate's assistant Republican leader.

Rafferty's victory can be traced to a number of causes, including the gradual realization that Kuchel not only voted with the Democrats a majority of the time, but refused to support **fellow Republicans**. GOP voters were particularly irritated by the fact that Kuchel had failed to back such candidates as Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater, George Murphy and Ronald Reagan.

Rafferty had also amassed considerable popularity because of his strong **views on education**, views that appealed to a cross-section of voters. Standing

REAGAN

KUCHEL

foursquare against "progressive" education and for a return to fundamentals, Rafferty, with the aid of an **excellent grass-roots organization**, won the job of superintendent of public instruction in 1962 and recaptured the post in 1966, gathering more votes in that year than the combined totals cast in the primaries for Reagan and then-Gov. Edmund G. Brown. Many politicos believe that Rafferty's education views, in fact, could be adopted by other conservatively oriented candidates around the country with beneficial results.

Finally, Rafferty's win over Kuchel was considerably aided by his campaign manager, **Robert McGee**, who thoroughly outdueled the Spencer-Robert's team supporting Kuchel. McGee has rapidly become a top political consultant in California, having headed a string of successful campaigns. In 1964 he handled Rep. Ed Reinecke's (R.-Calif.) first successful congressional race and in 1966 he ran the campaign of young Bob Mathias, the former Olympic champion. Mathias, a conservative Republican, blasted Harlan Hagen out of his seat in the 2-to-1 Democratic 18th District north of Los Angeles County.

The question now arises, however, as to whether Rafferty will be able to beat his Democratic opponent, former State Controller **Alan Cranston**. Politicos predict that Rafferty, while facing an uphill fight, can win since Cranston is likely to be deserted by the more conservative members of his own party. With McGee in his corner, the odds are good that California's controversial and conservative Rafferty will wind up in Washington next January.

BABCOCK

Montana's conservative GOP Gov. **Tim Babcock** last week thwarted a primary challenge by his liberal lieutenant governor, **Ted James**, by a comfortable margin. Babcock will now attempt to win an unprecedented third term as governor of the Treasure State against Democratic Atty. Gen. **Forrest Anderson**.

Babcock's win had added implications for national Republicans. By defeating Rockefeller-backer James, Babcock, who doubles as Nixon-for-President Western states co-chairman, should have the leverage necessary to swing all his state's 14 GOP convention delegate votes to the **Nixon cause**. In 1964 Babcock was one of the first GOP governors to come out in support of Barry Goldwater.

MATHIAS

The extremely liberal **Council for a Livable World**, which looks with favor on a coalition government in South Viet Nam and is a big supporter of radical U.S. disarmament measures, is openly soliciting funds for Rep. **Charles (Mac) Mathias** (R.-Md.) in his bid for the Senate seat now held by Democrat **Daniel Brewster**.

MATHIAS

Mathias, the council recently pointed out in a letter, is a "gifted and courageous" lawmaker. At 46, he has "served four terms in the House and has affiliated himself by word and deed with the most humane and progressive elements in the Congress. Last summer he joined with eight other congressmen in submitting a carefully thought-out proposal for a **'Graduated Reciprocal Identifiable De-escalation'** of the war in Viet Nam. . . .

"Congressman Mathias has, in addition, been one of the most ardent advocates in the House of new American initiatives towards **arms control**, as indicated by his spirited defense of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and by his thoughtful reappraisal of the role of NATO in speeches on the House floor."

What particularly pleased the council were Mathias' words in favor of **expanded East-West trade**, joint scientific ventures with Communist countries and "limited forms of military disengagement" in Europe.

The council was also severely critical of Sen. Brewster's **opposition to bombing pauses** in Viet Nam and his support of the destruction of "all targets of military significance." The council said it is also opposed to **George P. Mahoney**, who is running for the Senate on an independent ticket.

Mathias is one of the **few Republicans** to be openly supported with cash by the council. Normally this radical peace organization supports liberal Democrats, having raised funds this year for presidential prospect Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** (D.-Minn.) and such senatorial incumbents as **Joseph Clark** (D.-Pa.), **George McGovern** (D.-S.D.), **Gaylord Nelson** (D.-Wis.) and **Wayne Morse** (D.-Ore.).

WALLACE

George Wallace supporters are encouraged by a poll of some 1,800 federal employes conducted by the **Federal Times**, the largest circulating newspaper serving U.S. government workers. The presidential preferential poll was responded to by a broad representation of government employes in 40 states and the District of Columbia.

Of the total votes cast, 485 went to Wallace, 287 to Humphrey, 245 to Nixon and 224 to Kennedy. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sen. Eugene McCarthy drew 183 and 107 votes respectively, with Gov. Ronald Reagan polling 103.

One reason such a large number of government employes are said to prefer Wallace is that they feel there is **"discrimination in reverse"** in many government agencies where the policy is to hire and promote minority group members regardless of ability. They feel that this policy, along with programs to hire juvenile delinquents and even former felons, is said to be corroding the merit system.

ALABAMA

The Alabama Democratic primary to select a nominee to fill the seat of retiring Sen. Lister Hill resulted in a win for Lt. Gov. **James B. Allen** and the demise, at least for now, of Rep. Armistead Selden. The two had been forced into a run-off after Allen had failed to get a majority vote in a six-man field contending in the May 7 primary.

Selden had been Hill's own choice and was considered the likely victor when the campaign opened. But Allen, charging Hill's endorsement of Selden was evidence that **"the Washington crowd"** was trying to pressure Alabama voters, ran a stronger race in rural areas of the state and won a close victory. Both men support George Wallace's presidential bid and the ex-Alabama chief executive remained neutral in the contest.

Republicans will choose their candidate at a June 29 convention. Prime GOP contenders are **Perry Hooper**, a probate judge from Montgomery, and **Glenn Andrews**, former congressman from Anniston.

TEXAS

In the wake of the recent Democratic gubernatorial primary, political observers still think conservative **Paul Eggers** could become the first Republican governor of Texas since Reconstruction. Eggers' aspirations, it is claimed, were probably not hurt when the Democrats nominated Lt. Gov. **Preston Smith**, who defeated Don Yarborough, an ultra-liberal, in the June 1st runoff primary.

Smith is not only considered a **colorless campaigner**, but may turn out to be too "conservative" for Texas' liberal Democrats, who have often deserted their party's conservative candidates.

The **defection of liberals** from the state's Democratic party, in fact, became the central reason for the historic election of Republican **John Tower** to the Senate in 1961. When Tower ran for re-election against Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr in 1966, liberals once again refused to come to the assistance of a conservative in the Democratic party. The Texas AFL-CIO, a chief liberal force, declined to endorse Carr. The liberals also staged a walkout at the state's Democratic convention, then drafted a statement declaring: "It is no breach of party loyalty for any Democrat to vote against Waggoner Carr and cast his vote for John Tower." Republican Tower was then re-elected with 57 per cent of the vote.

With a possible **liberal-conservative fight** threatening to split the Texas Democratic party again, Eggers, a forceful campaigner, may pull a John Tower in 1968.

PEACE PARTY

The founding convention of New York's **Freedom and Peace Party** was held last week as militants of both races joined to proclaim solidarity with "the oppressed."

Five hundred delegates were present in a hotel ballroom bedecked with such slogans as, "Black Liberation," "Immediate Withdrawal from Viet Nam," "End Political Persecution" and "Free All Political Prisoners."

The party plans to run candidates for national and state office. It is considering as its senatorial candidate **Herman Ferguson**, a Negro educator who is now on trial for conspiracy to murder Roy Wilkins and other civil rights moderates.

Although ideologically similar, the party is not connected with California's Peace and Freedom Party, another splinter group that will also run candidates this fall.

GOP CONVENTION

The **Republican National Committee**, under the direction of Chairman Ray Bliss, has appointed a mixed ideological bag of prominent GOP officeholders to fill various vital posts at the 1968 national convention to be held in mid-August in Miami Beach. The most important conservative-leaning placements came with the naming of Rep. **Gerald Ford**, House minority leader, as permanent convention chairman, and Sen. **Everett Dirksen** as platform committee chairman.

The liberal GOP governor of Washington, **Dan Evans**, will deliver the convention's keynote address. Sen. **Edward Brooke** of Massachusetts, also a liberal, was named to the largely ceremonial post of temporary convention chairman.

Although publicly uncommitted, Ford and Dirksen are both thought to favor former Vice President **Richard Nixon** for the Republican presidential nominee; Evans, who leans to Rockefeller, was recently mentioned by Nixon as a possible vice presidential running mate.

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ELECTION YEAR REPORTS

To Enlighten, Inform, and Persuade Your Friends

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"Nelson Rockefeller: 'Reluctant' Candidate"

Will he rule-or-ruin again? M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis **News**, brings his formidable reporting talents to bear on Gov. Rockefeller: the man and the politician, from his New Deal days to the present. Now that the governor has finally publicly announced his candidacy, this timely, in-depth profile should be read by all voters. They should learn why Rocky avoided primaries, how he stands on the issues.

2. WALLACE
"The Rise and Stand of George Wallace"

A former Goldwater aide who regularly visits the South to keep in touch with the political picture there, focuses on the phenomenon of George Wallace—his personal background, his early rise in the rough-and-tumble of back-county politics and his current candidacy—what his chances are and what effect it could have on the November elections. Plus exclusive poll of how the nation's leading conservatives feel about the Wallace candidacy.

3. OTEPKA
"The Otto Otepka Story"

The whole incredible story of security scandals in the State Department and what happened to the man who exposed them are revealed in Otepka's extraordinary defense brief. If enough voters learn this story of State Department security breakdowns, it could be an explosive campaign issue.

4. 1968 ELECTION GUIDE

Compiled by the editors from the six-part "Election Information" series which appeared in **Human Events**, this guide is a small encyclopedia of facts that will help you understand the essential historical, statistical and legal information relating to the 1968 elections, and the men who will be involved in them.

5. REAGAN
"High Marks for Reagan's First Year in Office"

Lee Edwards, author of **Reagan: A Political Biography**, reviews the Reagan record as Governor of the nation's largest state, and finds much in it to praise. Includes excerpts from unofficial "news conferences," which reflect Reagan's candid views on the issues and his astuteness in handling the press.

6. SCHLAFLY ON THE GOP
"Don't Let Them Take It Away"

Phyllis Schlafly, author of such campaign best-sellers as **A Choice Not An Echo** and **Safe-Not Sorry**, zeros in on the behind-the-scenes plans of the liberals to take control of the GOP. Her conclusion: conservatives have what it takes to win, but could lose it all if they don't take the necessary action now.

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Private Meeting with Liberal Congressmen

Bevel Lists Revolutionary Goals of 'Poor March'

By PAUL SCOTT

Leaders of the "Poor People's" campaign are revealing goals to liberal members of Congress that are much more revolutionary than those highlighted in their public statements.

During a private meeting arranged by Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) the Rev. James Bevel, a member of the campaign's inner circle, visibly shook a number of the legislators by citing four unpublished objectives, as follows:

1. To re-distribute the wealth of the U.S. and turn the means of production over to the people.

2. To eliminate all armaments. The people, Bevel says, can only get rid of their fears if the military will put down their guns and missiles. All local and state police must be "re-oriented."

3. To eliminate all violence in the world, defined by Bevel as all disciplinary relationships. Example: "We do not believe in a parent making a child conform to a certain norm."

4. To rid the world of all the "fascists and jitter-bug fascists." The former being conservative members of Congress and the press. The latter are liberals that fail to join or support the "Poor People's" campaign.

Appearing in coveralls and with a Castro-type beard, Bevel lectured the GOP group for an hour and a half after Sen. Percy had introduced him and endorsed the "Poor People's" campaign.

Unlike the emotional speaker, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, director of the campaign, Bevel spoke softly and never raised his voice while detailing the mass movement's objectives.

"The whole struggle of this Poor People's campaign is economic class warfare," Bevel bluntly stated. "There must be a complete re-distribution of wealth in this country one way or the other."

When one of the GOP lawmakers questioned Bevel about the purpose of the "Poor People's" campaign, Bevel described it as "a great human theatrical drama being enacted to educate the people of the U.S. and the world."

"In this great dramatic play," he stated, "there are senators, congressmen, police, apathetic citizens and the poor people. All have their roles to play."

In a forecast of things to come, the militant Bevel warned:

"Various scenes of this great play will be violent. But in the end all will be peaceful because fear and hate will have been eliminated from the U.S. and the world."

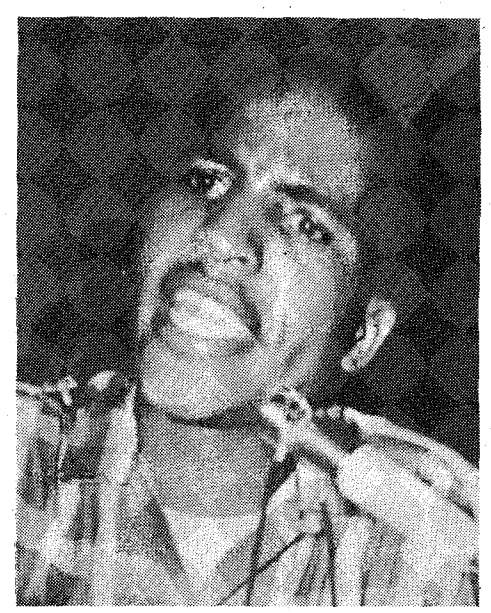
Questioned about his loyalty to the U.S., the militant "Black Power" advocate replied:

"I feel no responsibility to a nation-state. I represent conscious energy, which is a universal phenomena. As a result, I don't get too excited when I see a rag on a stick called a flag."

Bevel, who began his career in the mass protest movement in the early '60s in Nashville, Tenn., explained his own position on "non-violent" protests, stating:

"You people gotta understand that what we mean by non-violence is not just some people marching peaceably in a parade. We mean the whole restructuring of our inter-relationships. If there's violence, we are not going to worry about it. That's the problem of the police and those in power."

In a frank discussion of GOP political leaders he supports, Bevel described Mayor John Lindsay of New York, as "probably the most intelligent man in the country today."



The Rev. James Bevel has called for massive 'restructuring' of society.

Quizzed about his Republican host, Bevel replied:

"I endorsed Senator Percy for the Senate in Illinois because he was running against an old man [Sen. Paul Douglas] and I don't have much confidence in old men."

When Bevel finished there was silence. Even Sen. Percy appeared relieved when Bevel sat down.

Before coming to Washington to join Abernathy's brain-trust for the "Poor People's" campaign, Bevel was one of the key organizers and leaders of the anti-Viet Nam protest movement.

While in the Chicago area, Bevel helped the late Dr. Martin Luther King organize street gangs who are taking part or will come to Washington for the more violent part of the "Poor People's" campaign.

In private talks before other groups here in Washington, both Bevel and Abernathy have had nothing but praise for Stokely Carmichael, the pro-Castro black militant.

"I love Stokely," Abernathy told a meeting of Democratic legislators. "He's a wonderful guy. A real, likable personality. A brilliant young man. I may disagree with him on strategy, but not on goals."

Bevel puts it more directly, stating: "I have no disagreements with Carmichael."

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What Decent Students Must Do

We Can Prevent Future Columbias

By DAVID FRANKE

"My God, how could human beings do a thing like this?" gasped Dr. Grayson Kirk, the bewildered president of Columbia University, as he viewed the shambles that was his office. The furniture smashed, thrown into nearby rooms. His sherry and cigar supply and confidential files raided. Photographs of himself decorated with a red mustache. Telephones disconnected, their wires cut. Dirty blankets, scraps of food and defecation on his once-spotless rug. And replacing the library that had previously graced his walls—comic books.

A policeman showed the tired, very tired liberal a piece of iron pipe tied to a section of rope.

"What is it?" asked Kirk.

The inspector seemed surprised at his ignorance. "A knuckle duster."

"Unbelievable," Kirk whispered as if in a trance.

Liberalism—naive, perplexed, weary, guilt-ridden liberalism—had come face to face with the revolution. As usual, it had caved in.

A small band of academic guerrillas had occupied the enemy's headquarters and four other buildings, held one of its deans captive for 26 hours, and, in the end, brought classes to a halt for the remainder of the school year. One is reminded of Ayn Rand's dictum that when two groups which share the same set of underlying principles clash, the more brutal and less scrupulous party will win. Dr. Martin Luther King's "nonviolent" civil disobedience had met its progeny at Columbia, and it was not a very pretty child.

It had all started, supposedly, over two issues, the planned construction of a new gymnasium and the university's connection with a highbrow think-tank that advises the Pentagon. Today only the most innocent liberal could still believe those were anything more than tools and camouflage for the real issue of who should control the university.

The gymnasium, after all, had been planned since the late '50s. Why the belated militancy, after every conceivable governmental unit had put its blessing on the project?

The guerrillas claimed that because the gymnasium would be constructed on land in Morningside Park, leased from the city, it constituted a "steal" of parkland from the Harlem residents who reside adjacent to the Columbia campus. But since the park was being used almost entirely by muggers, and one floor of the new gymnasium would be a badly needed recreation center and swimming pool for the Harlem community, the claims of a "steal" become less convincing. More to the point is the contention of less ideological citizens—including many conservatives—that New York's remaining parks should be preserved (and made safe) as open space for people, not for institutions, however worthy.

Issue No. 2 was Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), a private, nonprofit, secretive think-tank advising the Pentagon on such matters as missiles and lasers.

Columbia and 11 other prestigious universities control IDA's charter and bylaws, elect its board of trustees, and loan it many members of their various facilities at rates of $75 and up per day, per professor, thus helping to fight poverty in the academic ghettos. There is no reason for conservatives to defend the relationship—certainly not conservatives who worry about the growing dependence of universities on government contracts and favors.

But the guerrillas' opposition was based not on grounds of principle, but rather on exploitation of anti-Viet Nam sentiment in the student body. The same guerrillas have no qualms about grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity, tax-exempt foundations, the CIA (as long as they are covert), or in the form of National Defense Education Act scholarships.

The demonstrations began shortly after noon on Tuesday, April 23, when about 500 students headed for Low Memorial Library, Columbia's main administrative building, to protest the gymnasium and IDA connection. Rebuffed by university security guards, their leader—Mark Rudd, chairman of the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society—read a letter from Columbia Vice President David B. Truman offering to meet with them immediately in the McMillan Theater on campus. The crowd shouted down the offer, marching instead to the site of the gymnasium and tearing down the fence around the area until police moved in.

Back on the main campus, Rudd announced, "We're going to have to take a hostage to make them let go of IDA and let go of the gym." They selected Dean Henry S. Coleman and marched to his office in Hamilton Hall.

Since university regulations forbid demonstrations inside campus buildings, the dean formally asked, "Is this a demonstration?" "Yes!" they shouted in reply, and began chanting "Hell no, we won't go" and singing "We shall not be moved."

"I have no control over the demands you are making," Dean Coleman told the students, "but I have no intention of meeting any demands under a situation such as this." Still they drew up their list of demands, and in addition to the original two they insisted on amnesty for participants in the protest and repeal of the ban on indoor demonstrations.

Informed of the situation by telephone, Vice President Truman again agreed to meet immediately with the students. Again the protesters turned down his offer, insisting on a written guarantee of amnesty, which the administration could not concede without making a mockery of its disciplinary regulations. Throughout the night, and for a period of more than 24 hours, Dean Coleman was held prisoner in his office.

Columbia protesters rally on the campus against the use of police force to break up the unruly sit-ins. Needless to say, the students complained of "police brutality."

Early the next day the Negroes among the demonstrators remained in Hamilton Hall while the white students moved into President Kirk's office in Low Memorial Library and began their process of destruction. ("Come on, we've got to show the blacks we have as much guts as they do," said one of them.) Security guards did rush in to rescue a Rembrandt painting—"Portrait of a Dutch Admiral"—valued at $450,000. This time Kirk himself met with the Negro students, reportedly with the offer that all protesters would be put on disciplinary probation for 18 months but would be guaranteed freedom from prosecution. Again the administration was turned down.

At this point the demonstrators numbered a mere 150—an extremely small minority of Columbia's enrollment of 27,500. Moreover, they already were outnumbered by some 200 counter-demonstrators shouting "SDS Must Go!"

Despite such signs of sane student sentiment, and despite three rejections of the administration's offers to the protesters, Kirk vacillated and refused to call in police or otherwise protect the majority's right to receive the education they had contracted for.

The result could have been foreseen. The demonstrators, fed by their success and by recruits from outside the campus, took control of three additional buildings on campus—Avery Hall, Fayerweather Hall and the Mathematics Building. Together the four buildings —not including the library—contain classrooms for more than 50 per cent of Columbia's undergraduate student body. At first night classes were suspended, then day classes as well. Campus gates were locked at night, student identification cards required during the days.

In the Negro-held Hamilton Hall some 50 students were joined by New New York Mau Mau leader Charles Kenyatta and SNCC extremists H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. The building was renamed "Malcolm X University, established 1968 A.D.," with Stokely as president. Posters of Che Guevara and Malcolm X replaced the white students' posters of Lenin and Negro student Raymond Wells protested in rather obscurantist tones that the university had "raped the minds of black people through the IDA."

In contrast, Rap Brown was a model of clarity. "If they build [the gym] up," he said, "people in Harlem should blow it up." And if the black students were not obliged, Columbia would have to deal "with the people on the streets."

White reporters were not allowed in Hamilton Hall, but informants from the inside said students were preparing for the onslaught by covering themselves with vaseline as protection from Chemical Mace, and wetting blankets as a defense against tear gas.

In the white-held Mathematics Building, occupants declared the building a commune, hoisted a red flag from the roof, and displayed a large poster of Karl Marx in a ground-floor window. And at Fayerweather Hall, reporters noted marijuana parties, anti-war movies shown by a group that had come uptown from the pro-Marxist Free University, and signs everywhere reading "This is liberated territory."

A sign on the door of one darkened classroom was more explicit: "This room has been liberated for private use. There are lots of others. Thanks."

To all of which Kirk's answer was: "Columbia University continues to hope that Hamilton Hall, Low Library and the other buildings will be vacated without calling on police assistance. We earnestly hope that the efforts of the faculty, the students and the administration may produce a peaceful and rational solution to the current situation."

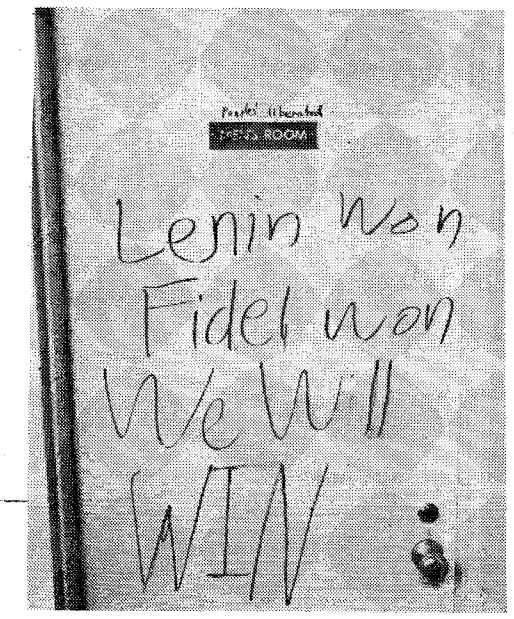
It sounded much like the Johnson Administration's liberal rhetoric on Viet Nam, and had about the same results.

So far the script may sound like a rewrite of the Berkeley Revolution: popular-front issues, militant minority, vacillating and stupid administration. But in the eight days of demonstrations before police were finally called in, there was a vital difference from Berkeley and all other student rebellions of the '60s. That difference was the appearance at Columbia of non-leftist students who went into action against the demonstrators when the administration refused to act.

The anti-SDS student action on the first day of demonstrations has already been noted. By the third day the New York *Times* could report that

(*Continued on following page*)

Mr. Franke, a senior editor at Arlington House publishers, is a former editor of the New Guard *and a former member of the staff of* Human Events.



This was the door to one of the men's rest rooms in a building at Columbia University taken over by the students.

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"Throughout the day it was evident that mounting opposition to the tactics, if not the objectives, of the SDS and the black student groups was emerging among faculty members and students.

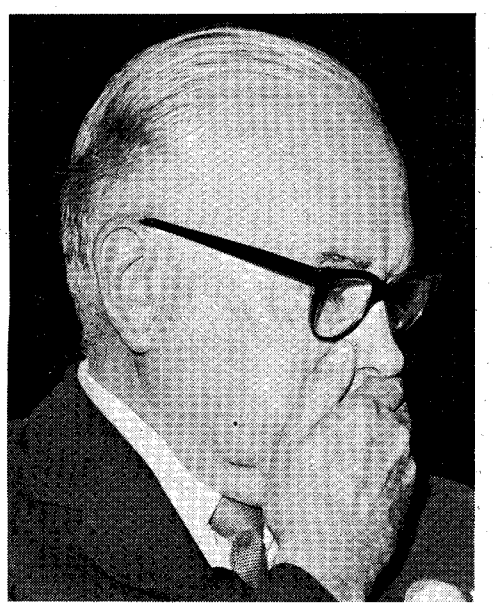
"There was a strong feeling, buttressed by comments from some university officials and the growing impatience of student opponents of the demonstration, that the university could not long continue to permit its buildings to remain occupied and its program to be disrupted."

The counter-revolution took a variety of forms:

• Some 350 opponents of the SDS-black students demonstration met in the present Columbia gymnasium. Many were athletes, and James Quattrocci, a 21-year-old junior who holds two varsity letters in wrestling, urged them to block passage to and from the occupied buildings. "If it's a barbarian society," he said to loud cheers, "then it's the survival of the fittest—and we're the fittest." Only strong pleas from former hostage Dean Coleman and basketball coach Jack Rohan dissuaded the students at this time.

• Anti-SDS students held daily demonstrations on campus grounds, protesting what they termed the administration's betrayal in not calling in the police.

• Eighteen hundred students signed a petition urging the administration to "take firm action" to end the demonstrations, which they labelled "outrageous conduct completely contrary to the best interests of Columbia University and her students."



A haggard Grayson Kirk, president of Columbia University, meets with newsmen after he belatedly called upon police to clear the campus.

• Polls by three campus service organizations of some 5,600 Columbia students showed a vote of 3,466 to 2,054 against amnesty for the demonstrators, even though the same students also opposed the controversial gymnasium by a vote of 4,093 to 1,433.

• When all faith was lost in the administration's intentions to act, the anti-SDS students organized themselves as the Coalition of the Majority, and on Sunday, April 28, established an around-the-clock blockade of Low Memorial Library, pledging they would let students leave the building but not go back in. Ex-football player Paul Vilardi acted as the Coalition's spokesman. For the next three days, until police were called in, they maintained a totally effective blockade of any food or medical supplies for the students occupying Dr. Kirk's office.

With several Low demonstrators suffering from diarrhea and lack of food, pro-SDS students tried to break through the picket line. They proved no match for the athletes and their allies, who wore coats and ties to symbolize their opposition to the slovenly protesters. A *Times* reporter wryly remarked that "Neither side apologized for its attire, and neither had time to change before the fighting erupted." "It's probably the first time Columbia has ever held a line," a Coalition member said when it was over, in a good-natured reference to the university's poor football record.

There is reason to believe that such anti-SDS student action was what finally forced the administration, however belatedly, into action. The New York *Times* quoted one member of the Columbia Board of Trustees, after police had been called in, as saying that the leftist student demonstration "was a real Menshevik rule of the minority"—referring to the minority faction of the old Russian Social Democratic party.

This trustee, who asked to remain anonymous, added that there was great fear in the administration that members of the Coalition of the Majority would attempt to move into the occupied buildings and throw out the demonstrators.

"I think it was right," said the trustee, "to ask the city police to do this rather than have the students do it."

One rather hilarious incident followed the riots, as a number of the demonstrators' parents met in Riverside Church to express their solidarity with their sons, the rebels. Rabbi Bruce Goldman, who had been active with the demonstrators, was addressing the crowd when his microphone was grabbed by Dolph Vilardi, father of the football player who led the anti-SDS forces at Columbia. Vilardi turned all the slogans of the SDS rebels against their parents, to their consternation.

"If there's no objection, I've constituted myself chairman of this meeting," he shouted into the microphone. The audience quieted down.

"I have just liberated this microphone," he continued. Chuckles from the audience.

"I've got possession of this microphone," he declared. "Does anyone want to negotiate with me?" The laughter stopped and the Rabbi and several men rushed toward him.

"Are you going to try to take this microphone from me by violence?" Vilardi shouted. "Isn't that what you're protesting against the police for? Violence against your children?"

The meeting, called to protest Columbia's use of the police, ended with police being called to restore order.

To President Kirk, his decision to call in the police eight days after demonstrations had started was "obviously the most painful one I ever made." He seemed dumbfounded that the militants "appear to have regarded the university's patience as weakness."

Mayor John Lindsay, who thought National Guardsmen should be called up to collect New York's garbage during a recent sanitation strike, said the city (i.e., John Lindsay) "responded with great sadness" at the university's request for police. Less enlightened minds will have to wonder what governmental police and military agencies exist for in John Lindsay's world.

And New York University's President James M. Hester told students on his campus that the call for police "demonstrates how inappropriate it is ever to involve the police, who are trained to deal with criminals, in the affairs of teachers and students"—as if teachers and students somehow never are criminals, whatever their actions. The students booed him when he subsequently refused to say that he never would use police at NYU, but they accepted his dollar contribution to a fund aiding arrested Columbia students.

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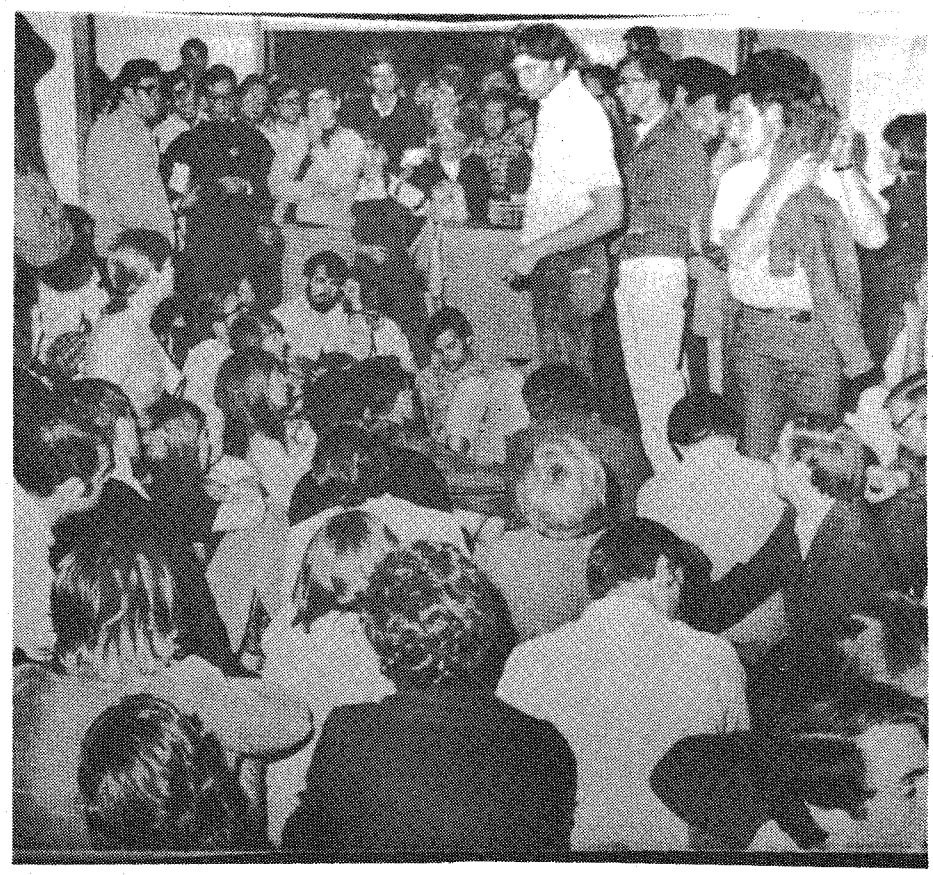

This was the scene at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif, as a crowd of 250 forcibly occupied the student union building, protesting the threatened suspension of seven students who opposed CIA recruiting on campus.

Some Successes—And Failures

Other Campus Revolts

Like Columbia, dozens of other U.S. colleges and universities have witnessed disruptive, sometimes violent, student demonstrations in recent weeks. And in all too many cases the besieged administration has completely caved in to student demands. Two notable examples:

• At Northwestern University 100 Negro students barricaded themselves in the school's administration building for 36 hours, demanding the university grant a nine-point list of demands ranging from separate living quarters for black students to the serving of "soul food" (e.g., "chitlins" and collard greens) in the campus cafeteria. Not only did the administration accede to each demand, it also signed a confession of practicing "white racism" and begged Negro students' forgiveness. (The federal government, however, has since indicated that acquiescence to certain of these demands is illegal under the anti-discrimination sections of the aid-to-education bills.)

• At California's Stanford University, more than 100 leftist students occupied the administration building for three days, demanding the school drop its planned suspension of seven students for their role in demonstrating against CIA recruiters last November; highlight of this "nonviolent" sit-in came when the campus Naval ROTC building was destroyed by arsonists. The students called off the demonstration when a majority of the faculty came to their support, calling on the administration to drop the suspension proceedings and take on action against those who participated in the sit-ins.

Unlike Columbia, Northwestern and Stanford, however, other universities have been challenged by student demonstrators and have responded, although not always immediately, with firmness and authority. In most instances where the forces of law and order have been applied the demonstrations quickly fizzled. Examples:

• The San Francisco State College administration, after having given in on a number of student demands, found to its surprise that force does work effectively. After two days of sit-ins, the administration had agreed to four of five student demands, including admitting 400 minority students and hiring nine minority faculty members; it refused, however, to grant the demand to abolish the campus Air Force ROTC program. When students planned additional sit-ins to gain the ROTC ouster, the administration finally responded by proclaiming a "state of emergency," threatening suspension of demonstrators and calling in 100 police. The demonstration never took place.

• When about 40 Brooklyn College radicals barricaded themselves in a campus building, in demanding increased Negro enrollment and faculty representation, the school promptly called police. The demonstrators were removed, charged with criminal trespassing, expelled from college, and never heard from since.

• At the University of Chicago some 60 Negro students took over the main administration building, blocking entrances and shutting off telephone service. After they had occupied the building for three and a half hours, an administration official read them an ultimatum to either leave or face possible expulsion; the students, who had been demanding increased Negro enrollments, quickly departed.

• Fourteen University of Miami (Fla.) Negro students took over the school president's office, demanding an increased "blackness" on the campus and 25 per cent Negro enrollment. The university president said it was impossible for him to guarantee "any certain percentage" of black students and, when the demonstrators refused to leave, called police; all 14 were arrested for trespassing.

• Students at Chicago's Roosevelt University demonstrated over a two-week period in demanding the school hire self-proclaimed Marxist Staughton Lynd as a full-time professor; Lynd, who has made several illegal trips to Hanoi, had been a part-time instructor at Roosevelt but was not hired for the next school year for "personality" reasons. During the two-week sit-ins at least 69 participants were either suspended or expelled as the university refused to reconsider Lynd's firing, and the demonstrations were finally called off to allow the protesters to study for final exams.

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How SDS Hopes to Disrupt America

Columbia-like 'confrontations' planned across the nation

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

"I don't owe this damn country anything."—An SDS member from North Carolina University.

As the academic year closed, university campuses across the United States stood on the edge of a calculated left-wing takeover. Led by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), campus revolutionaries are openly attempting to destroy the university structure and to replace academic freedom with violence and anarchy.

As author David Franke points out in the preceding article, members of the militant Students for a Democratic Society, acting like an American version of the Red Guards, joined with various "Black Power" advocates and self-admitted Communists to turn Columbia University into an arena for mob violence. From the Columbia campus the violence spread throughout the country and involved schools as geographically separate as Ohio State University, Stanford University, San Francisco State College and Northwestern University.

The Columbia experience is being touted by various SDS leaders as an example for other student revolutionaries to emulate in the coming school year. Stealing Che Guevara's call for the creation of many "Viet Nams" throughout this hemisphere, the SDSers now claim as their goal the "creating of two, three, many Columbias." According to one SDS leader this means they will expand the violence "so that the U.S. must either change or send its troops to occupy American campuses."

Tom Hayden, one of the founders of SDS who was recently blamed by Newark, N.J., police officials for helping to instigate the recent riots in the Negro areas of that city where he works, has candidly stated the revolutionary SDS political line. Writing in the June 15 issue of *Ramparts*, he declared:

"Columbia opened a new tactical stage in the resistance movement which began last fall: from the overnight occupation of buildings to permanent occupation; from mill-ins to the creation of revolutionary committees; from symbolic civil disobedience to barricaded resistance. Not only are these tactics already being duplicated on other campuses, but they are sure to be surpassed by even more militant tactics.

"In the future it is conceivable that students will threaten destruction of buildings as a last deterrent to police attacks. Many of the tactics learned can also be applied in smaller hit-and-run operations between strikes: raids on the offices of professors doing weapons research could win substantial support among students while making the university more blatantly repressive."

"How many other schools can be considered ripe for such confrontations? The question is hard to answer, but it is clear that the demands of black students for cultural recognition rather than paternalistic tolerance, and radical white students' awareness of the sinister paramilitary activities carried on in secret by the faculty on many campuses, are hardly confined to Columbia. Columbia's problem is the American problem in miniature—the inability to provide answers to widespread social needs and the use of the military to protect the authorities against the people. This process can only lead to greater unity in the movement."

Tom Hayden, who, it will be remembered, traveled to Hanoi some time ago with American Communist party leader Herbert Aptheker and Prof. Staughton Lynd, proclaims that SDS demands "a new and independent university standing against the mainstream of American society, or they want no university at all." According to the American "Red Guard" spokesman, the SDSers are, in Fidel Castro's words, "guerrillas in the field of culture."

Students of left-wing violence have been trying to alert the American populace to the nihilistic plans of SDS for the past few years. Unfortunately, it has taken a Columbia to make the warning begin to sink in. J. Edgar Hoover recently told Congress that if anything definite could be said about SDS, it is that it "can be called anarchistic." The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation went on to state that SDS has been "infiltrated by Communist party members" and has "seized upon every opportunity to foment discord among the youth of this country."

Over one year ago Hoover told Congress that "at a meeting of the national council of the Students for a Democratic Society, held over the 1965

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has documented the extensive Communist influence on SDS.

Labor Day weekend, 20 of the approximately 100 participants had past or present affiliations with the Communist party or other subversive groups."

SDS has, since its founding on June 11, 1962, at Port Huron, Mich., gone the full route of originally excluding Communist members to presently openly seeking Communist recruits. The present political philosophy of SDS is summed up by its past president, Carl Oglesby, as "action, not discussion."

Students for a Democratic Society began as a youth group for the democratic-Socialist League for Industrial Democracy founded in the early 1900s by Jack London and Upton Sinclair. In the 1930s the League for Industrial Democracy set up the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID).

Not long after its formation, SLID began "united-front" operations with the Communist party. This culminated in the creation of the American Student Union which quickly became dominated by the Communists. During the Nazi-Soviet Pact period, the SLID members discovered that they had been "used" by the Communists and ultimately the American Student Union fell apart.

Following the demise of SLID, the League for Industrial Democracy decided that any new student group it founded would have to stay clear of the Communists if it were to succeed as an independent left-wing student venture. When the league helped to set up and finance the SDS, it therefore insisted that a disclaimer oath regarding Communists be included in the membership qualifications. As a result, the years of SDS were relatively free of any Communist influence—directly, at least.

Because avowed Communists were refused membership in SDS during the early years, the LID openly financed the operations of the youth group. Various labor unions contributed funds directly to the League for Industrial Democracy and this money was then shunted over to the SDS. Chief among the labor union contributors were the United Auto Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Independent District 65 in New York City. The UAW contributed $5,000 to SDS in 1963.

By 1965, according to the pro-Communist *National Guardian*, SDS was "the largest student organization on the left." In April 1965 SDS called for a giant demonstration against American involvement in Viet Nam and openly courted support from the various existing Communist groups in the United States.

During this period the SDS leadership also purposefully began to make its political position more radical and to espouse answers to various American problems that sounded more like Fidel Castro than Norman Thomas. In June 1965 the League for Industrial Democracy held a meeting of its board of directors and issued the following unanimous resolution:

"The League for Industrial Democracy in its long history has stood firmly, as a matter of uncompromising principle, against totalitarianism of both the right and the left. We are therefore deeply troubled that the 1965 National Convention of our student department, Students for a Democratic Society, removed from its constitution and membership card the long-standing reference to communism as an authoritarian movement."

This was soon followed with a total break between the SDS and the League for Industrial Democracy. Following the break, the SDS began to openly welcome Communists into its ranks and to espouse a violently anti-American political rhetoric. During a recent speech at Pennsylvania State University, I was told by an SDS organizer that he now believed that there were at least 10 open Communists on the national board of SDS.

Still, SDS has not followed a coherent Communist program. Instead, the policies of SDS are too emotional to have been directly or completely dictated by the Communists, but the eventual results of the SDS nihilism only helps the Communists by creating violence and anarchy.

Gus Hall, the Communist party chief, puts it this way: "Fronts are a thing of the past. We don't need them, we've got the DuBois Clubs, SNCC and SDS going for us. They're not fronts. They're just part of the responsible [sic] left, that portion of American youth that realizes that society is sick."

As SDS has grown (it now makes

Tom Hayden, a founder of SDS, has not only traveled to Hanoi but has been accused of fomenting violence during the 1967 disorders in Newark, N.J.

highly exaggerated claims to 300 active chapters with some 35,000 members) it has come to abandon the idea that change is possible through democratic means and has instead begun to insist on extra-legal means to gain its objectives.

Militant Carl Davidson gave an example of this "extra-legal" philosophy when he listed for fellow SDSers 22 ways to disrupt military recruiters on any campus. Davidson suggested, among other things, that the campus revolutionaries initiate "a guerrilla siege of buildings"; the "tipping over of recruiting tables and/or seizing recruiting literature"; the "removing of recruiters and/or police from campus by force or threat of force."

This philosophy of condoning violence against anyone in opposition to the SDS political code was typified in the SDSers' refusal to allow proponents of American involvement in Viet Nam to speak at various "teach-ins" and in their attempt to direct physical attacks against various Johnson Administration spokesmen trying to speak on campuses. Within the past month, SDSers at UCLA mobbed a booth showing Viet Cong atrocities and tore up the pictures.

According to Davidson, civil liberties are no longer important and can be abridged if "an institution and individuals associated with that institution have lost their legitimacy and their rights." According to Davidson someone has lost his "legitimacy" when an SDSer's conscience tells him that such is the case.

If this seems illogical, consider the practical aspects of the SDS concept of "participatory democracy."

According to SDS rhetoric, a basic problem in the United States is the fact that most people in this country do not take an active role in our political structure. The solution to this problem, say the SDSers, is to return to the "town meeting" concept wherein a specific political issue is fully debated and studied in a community and a vote then taken on that specific issue by those who have fully explored the alternatives.

On paper this kind of "participatory democracy" sounds good, but in application the SDS is simply trying to kid people.

Early in this academic year I debated the then-student body president at St. Louis University who also happened

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to be an SDS leader. At one point in our debate he proposed the concept of "participatory democracy," and I supported it as a viable theory.

I then asked him what would happen in his concept of "participatory democracy" if the people of St. Louis after fully debating and discussing the issue of American involvement in Viet Nam then voted to continue our presence in that country. In full candor he turned to me and stated that "obviously the majority would be wrong."

The May-June issue of *Dissent* magazine contains a letter from a Columbia SDSer that reinforces this attitude. According to the writer: "SDS asserts that resistance to Dow Chemical Co. by communities of people is both justified and democratic—even if 51 per cent of the community believes otherwise."

This SDS communication goes on to assert that "if the New Left possessed the power to blow up with impunity all Dow Chemical plants making napalm (along with the plants of Lockheed, Boeing, etc., which make weapons) it would do so. . . ."

It is exactly this kind of warped logic that is basic to the extra-legal posture of SDS. For some time now the SDS leadership has claimed that it has the "only true solution" to most issues facing the country at large. SDS has spelled out any number of immediate anti-American positions and has proclaimed these the only possible solutions. The SDSers have become political zealots.

The anger that a typical member now exhibits towards the democratic system is fostered by his refusal to believe that most people do not see politics through his set of red-colored bifocals.

Because the SDSers, who think they have all the answers, have failed in their attempts to convince the average citizen of their monopoly on truth, they have discarded the legal means to seek change and have instead turned to violence. The more politically self-righteous the SDSers have felt, the more angry they have become because their solutions have not been universally accepted in this country.

The SDS philosophy hardly represents the viewpoint of the majority of American students. At Columbia, for instance, SDS only claims a membership of 50 out of nearly 18,000 students. A close look at the tactics utilized by the SDS at Columbia shows how SDS utilized its small membership to create a riot condition.

Last October, Mark Rudd, the Columbia SDS leader and recent visitor to Cuba, circulated a plan to take over the university structure to various campus revolutionaries. Rudd proposed two basic goals for the left wing at Columbia. These goals were:

"1. The 'radicalization' of students—showing people the connections in the liberal structure, showing them how our lives really are unfree in this society (and at Columbia), getting them to act in their own interest, and

"2. Striking a blow at the federal government's war effort ('resistance')."

Rudd's plan for Columbia laid out specific courses of action which were to culminate in April in a "sit-in at Low Library which, after one day, turns into a general strike. University capitulates."

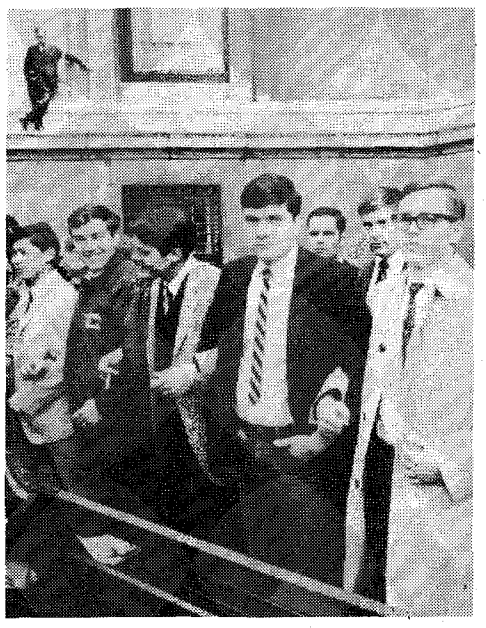
SDS at Columbia, along with its chapters at other universities, has clearly stated the ingredients of a campus revolution. The SDS plan at Columbia declared that "in order to accomplish more than the posture of radical action . . . we're going to have to develop the two things which we most lack now—a coherent strategy, and an effective organization. To be militant is to fight to achieve a specific goal: Let us clearly state that our goal is to end university complicity with the war. . . ."

Admitting that the majority of students were not inclined to revolutionary activity, the SDS still felt that it held a "potential" for strength and that all they lacked was a specific "strategy and commitment to the work necessary to win."

The strategy used by SDS at Columbia, and other universities, was to create front issues behind which to mobilize student support and to utilize the theory of "confrontation" in order to create a riot and thereby enlist other student support. The real goal of SDS was explained by the national secretary, Greg Calvert, as "working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We are actively organizing sedition."

The front issues SDS pushed at Columbia centered around the attempts of the university to expand its plant into the surrounding Negro community, an end of university cooperation with research projects related to our national defense effort and total student control of the university structure.

After raising these show issues, the SDS then attempted to force the university administration to "negotiate" with the revolutionaries who claimed to speak for the students. One document captured by the police at Columbia



Columbia students opposed to wild tactics of the leftists link arms to prevent food being taken into the demonstrators holed up in a campus building.

states, however, that "the time for negotations has not yet come, if there ever was a time."

In other words, the revolutionary strategy is to gain student appeal by raising broadly supported (but shallow) issues and then to force the administration into refusing to accept the demands. Thus is created a direct "confrontation" between the revolutionaries and the administration. According to Columbia's vice president, the SDS had sought throughout the year to provoke such a "confrontation" with the college administration.

It is important to grasp this theory of "confrontation" before it is used by the revolutionaries to create violence across the nation. Roger Taus, a member of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party, an SDS member and an alternate member of the Strike Steering Committee, has stated that:

"The Columbia sit-in confronted tens of thousands of students with a question they must answer: Which side are you on? The side of racist exploitation and imperialism? Or the side of the liberation movement? *Carefully planned confrontations like this can sharply expose to thousands the real imperialist and racist nature of this sytem and win them to fighting on our side against it*" (Taus' emphasis).

Confrontation as a revolutionary tactic works like this: Manipulate people into a posture wherein they are in direct conflict with some power source (a campus administration, the federal government, the police) and violence can be created. The first key is to enlist broad support for the apparent cause through the raising of false issues. Secondly, demand from the power source concessions that they cannot, or will not, accept. Then claim that the student will has been thwarted and the only answer is peaceful but extra-legal measures to gain the demanded changes.

To be successful, a confrontation theory must be prefaced by forcing the attacked power structure to reject your demands and by convincing various outside forces that you are only seeking some change that a reactionary status quo refuses to grant.

The key to the confrontation theory is to get a broad cross-section of student radicals involved in a position where the power source (on the campuses it would be the administration) must act. On a university level this means that it is necessary to take a dramatic action, such as a sit-in or camp-in.

While declaring their non-violence and their determination only to change various campus policies, the revolutionaries will try to garner strength from outside sources. Unless they have taken a strong stand against the revolutionaries from the outset, the administration will soon be forced to call in outside help. Unfortunately, too many university administrations have not shown a willingness to stop the revolutionaries until it is too late and the police have to be called in.

In reality, this call for the police is exactly what the revolutionaries want at this point in their program. Now—gathered in a specific place and refusing to leave until their demands are met—the revolutionaries, coupled with other "idealistic" students (and many are), proclaim their non-violence and their willingness to be arrested if necessary to prove their moral and political righteousness. The police surround the group while members prepare to be arrested and/or moved from their secure position.

Suddenly, from somewhere, a policeman is hit and he, in turn, retaliates and hits a demonstrator. This has a chain reaction and soon there is a near riot. Some of the demonstrators are genuinely shocked by the police reaction and are prone to believe that the police provoked the whole fracas.

As the violence increases, spectators, who have no idea how the violence started, are pulled into the riot by their emotional reaction to seeing the police employ defensive strength to restrain the now-fighting students. Who actually created the initial violence is lost as the riot situation increases in intensity.

Charges of "police brutality" are coupled with a sincere belief on the part of many that they were committed to non-violence. Once violence develops, the police become rough. This is a classic example of how to create a riot condition and then utilize the shock reaction of onlookers to perpetuate it. Undoubtedly, this is exactly the successful strategy utilized by SDS and various Communist instigators at Columbia.

Their trip to jail makes those people arrested even more radical—and the revolutionaries score another victory.

An end product of a successful confrontation theory is the apparent acceptability of violence. The revolutionaries claim that "police brutality" forced them to prevent further violence by employing the counter-violence of self-defense. SDS argues that violence only occurred once the administration had refused to accept their demands and the police were called in to clear out the buildings.

Ultimately, this theory leads to the revolutionary proclamation that violence must now be accepted by the previously "passive" students in order to vindicate their now injured and/or jailed comrades.

This "self-defense" approach is also aimed at showing the opposition that they too are capable of violence in a situation that is obviously out of hand.

Once confrontation moves from theory to action it is extremely difficult to stop. Too often university administrations—and governments—are prone to allow the revolutionaries to effect their confrontation plan before they react. This administrative reluctance to act is summed up in the words of the dean of students at Indiana University who recently told the Chicago *Tribune* that "we are over-reacting when we catch on. We are more susceptible to respond to the vocal minority."

As author Franke points out, however, quick action by the administration, such as at the University of Chicago, can turn the tables on the revolutionaries, avoid violence and enlist broader student support.

Kenneth Crawford, writing in *Newsweek*, summarized the SDS program: "first, agitation to arouse a following big enough to be effective, though still a minority, then seizure of strategic buildings to shut down normal operations, and finally indiscriminate smashing of the seized buildings' contents to assure forcible expulsion and thus 'police brutality.' Plans laid months ago worked out admirably, taking in not only youths attending Columbia for the serious purpose of acquiring education, but several of the professors entrusted with the serious responsibility of guiding and instructing them."

SDS is now planning to export the Columbia experience to universities across the nation.

The Progressive Labor Communists working within the SDS structure have recently stated: "Columbia students have led the sharpest, clearest and best struggle of the student movement against racism and U.S. imperialism in recent years. . . The U.S. ruling class . . . will now have to face a large, more radical, and more militant student movement. The lessons of Columbia will not go unlearned in campuses across the country."

As the academic year closed, various revolutionaries have been busily touring the campuses trying to develop the relationship between the Columbia experience and the need for student revolt. SDS has an operating budget of $90,000 this year to help its leaders in this effort.

For some time, SDS has been working to enlist a broad coalition into its ranks. SDS leaders are now trying to organize in many high schools, have begun a "literary" magazine named *Caw!* and have organized a large chapter among the "hippies" on the Lower East Side of New York. In an article in the May 4 *Guardian* one SDS chapter proclaimed that "the cry is no longer 'flower power' but 'fire power.' And the struggle is for real life."

The future of academic freedom in the United States is bleak unless the majority of students make it clear that they will not continue to tolerate the SDS manufacturing riot conditions. The battle is just beginning. As Tom Hayden from SDS states, the "students at Columbia discovered that barricades are only the beginning of what they call 'bringing the war home.'"

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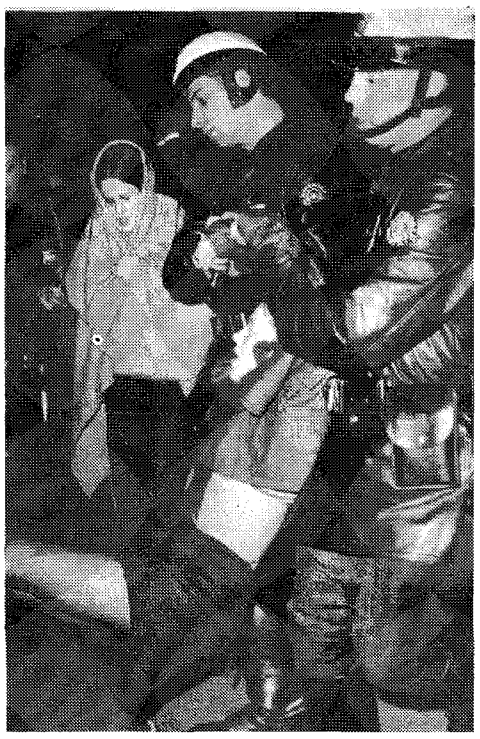
We Can Prevent Future Columbias

The arrested students were charged with criminal trespass and, when applicable, with resisting arrest. Both are misdemeanors. The left-wing National Lawyers Guild represented many of those who were arrested, and Columbia law students posted bail for anyone who needed it with fistfuls of money donated by friends and alumni.

There followed the inevitable cries of "police brutality." Considering the treatment received by some veteran newspapermen at the hands of police, there undoubtedly were lapses of discipline on the part of some policemen. A proper perspective must bear in mind, however, that such cases were the exception to the general rule of police conduct at Columbia, and that primary responsibility for the trouble rests with the students who initiated it.

New York *Times* reporter Martin Arnold found that "To an experienced anti-war or civil rights demonstrator,



Two of New York City's finest have their hands full with a rebellious demonstrator.

yesterday morning's police action on the Columbia campus was, for the most part, relatively gentle." And Arnold's colleague, A. M. Rosenthal, related how "There was, at times, a sense of almost being smothered in a stream of obscenity. It was not casual obscenity that came from angry students, but hard, cold and directed at target—a policeman, a newspaperman, a stranger, and most particularly at anybody older." "Fascist pigs" and "bastards" were some of the milder epithets.

In arresting the demonstrators, police faced spray from fire extinguishers, bites from female demonstrators, soaped-down floors slowing their progress in the occupied buildings. Chairs were dropped down a stairwell, a metal filing cabinet held menacingly over an entrance to one of the buildings.

Despite all the hue and cry, though, there were no criticisms of police methods at Hamilton Hall, held by Negro students. City Civil Rights Commission Chairman William H. Booth was there, and reported he "didn't see any wrongdoing at all." The Negro students themselves maintained excellent discipline, and each morning cleaned Hamilton Hall and removed the trash.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the noted Negro psychologist who was present, remarked that "The discipline and dignity of the students in Hamilton Hall were matched by the professional efficiency and skill of the police who arrested them. There was no police brutality in Hamilton Hall."

Councilman J. Raymond Jones of Harlem, former Democratic leader of Manhattan, told City Council that "We in Harlem have suffered because the police have been so criticized that they won't come to our assistance when we want them. Please, let's not fan the flames in our town."

For all of the alleged police brutality, the various reports indicate that only a half-dozen or so persons were even hospitalized overnight. The rest who were treated in hospitals—some 59 or so students, a sprinkling of faculty members and about a dozen policemen—generally suffered only minor cuts and bruises. (The only two persons still receiving hospital treatment for riot injuries are, in fact, policemen.)

The figures on arrests also help put the size of the extremist faction in perspective. According to a university report, 524 of those arrested were registered Columbia students; 181 were "not identified as Columbia students" (indicating that outside influence was stronger than realized) and two were faculty members.

Most of the arrested Columbia students were from the two undergraduate branches of the university: 239 from Columbia College, constituting 8.79 per cent of its enrollment, and 111 from Barnard College, the coed branch, representing 6.01 per cent of its enrollment.

The excesses by a few of the police did give the demonstrators a boost they badly needed, and served to demoralize the anti-SDS coalition. The demonstrators, out on bail, now immediately called for a student strike, with new demands: fire Kirk and Truman. And the next two weeks saw the Columbia administration repeatedly making concessions to the rebels. Under fire, the Board of Trustees:

- Appointed a subcommittee "to study and recommend changes in the basic structure of the university."
- Decided "that consultations and negotiations with community leaders shall be held before decision is reached as to whether or not construction will be resumed" on the proposed gymnasium.
- Pointed out that in response to

(Continued on following page)

Is There Really a Generation Gap?

By M. STANTON EVANS

Student violence at Columbia University and other schools around the nation has stirred considerable hand-wringing about the "gap" between the generations.

Examination of these disputes suggests, however, that there really isn't much of a gap at all. The revolutionary minority engaged in destructive action at Columbia and elsewhere is an extension of, rather than a reaction against, the senior orthodoxy on the campus. Today's excursions into anarchy are simply a practical expression of doctrines long promoted by academic liberals.

This is most apparent, perhaps, in the partiality of the Columbia militants for collectivist dogma and the rule of force. Conventional liberals have often stressed the virtues of collectivism, and have repeatedly shown their willingness to employ compulsory methods to achieve their vision of secular nirvana. In view of this preachment, it should hardly be surprising that our colleges have raised up an echelon of revolutionary Socialists.

According to a survey taken at Harvard during the 1950s, for example, the net impact of a Cambridge education was to push the students toward collectivism. The survey, conducted by the Harvard *Crimson*, showed Harvard undergraduates increasingly hospitable to notions like "full socialization of all industries," "socialization of the medical profession," price and wage controls, and other such compulsions as they advanced from their freshman to their senior years.

"For the most part," the *Crimson* stated, "the college's students did not arrive at Cambridge with these beliefs; they picked them up at Harvard. Over half admit that their political views have been strongly influenced since freshman registration and, of these, seven-tenths have changed either 'from conservative to more liberal,' or from 'liberal to more liberal'. . . . Lectures and assigned readings were named as the most important influences. . . ."

Equally relevant to the Columbia episode is the fact that reigning academic doctrine induces disbelief in objective codes of value—the usual term for which is "nihilism." The Columbia episode was precisely in the nihilist pattern; respect for the rights of others and notions of elementary decency obviously mean little to students who hold a college official captive and ransack the office of the president.

We can only speculate on the moral condition of the student quoted in *Newsweek* magazine, saying that he had at first felt guilty about breaking in the president's office and coming across a picture of the president and his family—but who went on to say proudly that he overcame these feelings to continue with his depredations. This is what occurs when, in Edmund Burke's phrase, we turn our duties into doubts.

In this respect, too, it is interesting to note the usual performance of the colleges. Attitude surveys at Yale, Princeton, Vassar, Antioch, Colgate, and Michigan State, all yield the same conclusion: The net impact of a modern college education is to break down the student's belief in traditional value.

Newsweek published a survey in May 1965 which revealed that "almost 40 per cent of the students said that their experience in college had made them question their [religious] faith. Almost twice as many seniors as freshmen said college had raised questions about their faith." Author Phillip Jacob, in *Changing Values in College*, says the effect of college education in America is to produce young people who tend to adopt "a liberal attitude" in which they refuse to "let fixed moral standards or ingrained prejudice govern their relations with other people."

Jacob quotes a survey at Vassar in the 1950s which says, among other things: "The senior more often than the freshman justifies the breaking of rules on occasion, including civil disobedience, questions whether 'communism is the most hateful thing in the world today,' or whether the American way of life should be preserved unchanged; would prefer to betray country rather than best friend. . . ." There is little in this hierarchy of curriculum-induced non-values which could not fit comfortably into the program of Students for a Democratic Society.

The resemblance of the New Left to the old is not simply a matter of intellectual connection. It is also intensely practical. From Berkeley to Columbia, New Left revolutionaries have been aided and abetted by sympathizers on the faculty.

During the Berkeley uprising of '64, the California faculty upheld the students, refusing to condemn lawlessness and demanding amnesty for those who had been arrested. "It is the approval of student lawlessness," commented Sidney Hook, " . . . which constitutes the most shocking aspect of the role of the faculty in the Berkeley episode. . . . Its vote can only serve to encourage further lawlessness."

A detailed discussion of the Columbia episode authored by Fred Lowell, vice president of the freshman class, makes it plain that the faculty was a major element in preventing crackdown on the student revolutionaries. Lowell describes the action of the so-called "Majority Coalition" at Columbia, made up of students who opposed the SDS performance. This group was largely ignored by the faculty, which catered to SDS and harbored many SDS collaborators in its ranks.

Vermont Royster of the *Wall Street Journal* gives a similar picture of the faculty outlook at Columbia. Prof. Jeffery Kaplow, for one, said he did not condemn "the taking of the buildings" and thought it "a silly piety" for others to do so. Prof. E. Allen Farnsworth stated that, after the police were called in, he could not align himself with "the so-called law and order side of the issue." (Royster notes that Farnsworth is a professor of—law.) Prof. F. W. Dupee saw in the uprising a "passion for justice and truth."

Columnist William S. White sums up the faculty role by noting: " . . . in many cases 'student rebels' form only the more visible cutting edge of the forces of riot and disarray. Much of the basic difficulty lies in the frequent refusal of the teaching faculties to give any form of assistance to college presidents in defense of minimal decency and order." To which it need only be added that the college presidents, like Clark Kerr at Berkeley and Grayson Kirk at Columbia, are the people who assembled these teaching faculties in the first place.

Against this background there is nothing astonishing about the events at Columbia and Berkeley and other schools afflicted by the New Left revolution. For years American college students have been subjected to instruction leading them to accept collectivism and reject the restraints of traditional value. It would be much more surprising if a sizable minority did not succumb to the moral chaos of nihilism and the confusions of collectivist dogma.

C. S. Lewis put it aptly 20 years ago. "In a sort of ghastly simplicity," he wrote, "we remove the organ and demand the function. We make men without chests and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honor and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful."

The Columbia uprising was not a puzzling aberration but a simple matter of cause and effect. We are getting, all too obviously, exactly what the professoriate has bargained for. There is no gap.

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Continued from page 11

earlier protests, it already had approved a resolution which would eliminate university memberships in IDA. Instead, according to the resolution, each member university would designate "a senior officer of their university to serve in an individual capacity as a trustee." (That resolution has since been approved by all the other members of IDA.)

Whatever the merits of a greater student-faculty role in university affairs, or of the gymnasium and IDA controversies, the administration's retreat under fire could only whet the appetite of the rebels.

The SDS crowd refused any compromises and refused to accept a faculty committee's suggestion of a tripartite commission—consisting of faculty members, students and representatives of the administration—to settle disciplinary problems on campus. They refused to cooperate with a fact-finding committee headed by former Solicitor General Archibald Cox.

"Amnesty is a political demand," one student conceded at a rally. "We won't accept punishment because the power of the administration is illegitimate. Amnesty is the first step in creating a new university."

And soon the SDS members were circulating "a partial list" of 15 demands, including unionization of all university employes, "total student control" over dormitories and dining halls, a public budget with priorities decided by "students, faculty and other directly concerned parties; e.g., Harlem," and "a course on student rebellions" given for credit.

On May 5 the administration made its most serious concession to the rebels when it accepted a faculty decision to end formal classes immediately and leave it up to individual teachers and their students to judge how they would spend the rest of the semester. The faculty also canceled formal final examinations and offered the college's students the option of accepting a passing grade or an incomplete grade instead of the usual letter grade.

Immediately "liberation classes" popped up around the campus. Vice President David Truman admitted that "this is a serious matter," and "the faculty are in a sense under a contract, not just to the trustees of the university, but to the students who signed up to take their courses as announced. What about the student who wants to take a particular course and presumably is not getting it in consequence of this liberation class nonsense?"

Indeed, what about the students who *did* want the classes they had contracted for? No answer was forthcoming from the administration, which now had only to grant amnesty to the demonstrators in order to run up the flag of total surrender to SDS and its allies.

Evidence that the university administration may make that final capitulation came after a new wave of riots hit the campus. First students—1,000 of them—protested university ownership of an apartment house in the Harlem neighborhood; their sit-in resulted in a number of arrests. Then followed a second sit-in at Hamilton Hall by 250 students.

When police arrested them, fires broke out in the upper floors of that and adjoining buildings, and acts of violence against university property and police broke out throughout the campus. Again, arrests were made.

The administration's position at the time of this vandalism and arson, compared with its later statements, can only lead one to assume that it intends, in the end, to grant amnesty to the guilty students.

At the time of the second occupation of Hamilton Hall, Dean Coleman warned the sit-ins that "Any student arrested will be suspended for an indefinite period." President Kirk warned, "I think it is important for me to state that if disciplinary probation, suspension or even permanent expulsion must be dealt to any number of students, this action will be taken."

A mere six days later, the administration was begging the demonstrators to appear at its hearings on the campus disorder. Even if they stood mute at the hearings, administration spokesmen promised, they would face nothing more than disciplinary probation—and would thus remain eligible to receive their diplomas.

As for the promise that students arrested in Hamilton Hall would automatically be suspended, Assistant Dean Alexander Platt now admitted that "It hasn't yet been determined just what will be done. Just say that they're 'subject to suspension.'"

What of the future? The first order of business would seem to be a revival of fortitude among those who run our colleges and universities. But since it is just that deficiency which gave birth to the Columbia situation, and promises to cause more trouble in the future, the initiative will often have to be taken by the students.

Weary police officers take a break in the ravaged office of Columbia University President Grayson Kirk. The "students" had damaged furniture, littered the office with trash and looted Kirk's confidential papers.

In the state of anarchy which exists when the militant extremists are allowed to flout campus and civil law, the students will have to take direct action of the sort followed by the Coalition of the Majority at Columbia. What transpired there was a first, faltering step.

In the future, blockades designed to starve out sit-ins should be organized immediately. This will require at least informal organization before any crisis erupts, among such obvious sources of manpower as conservative activists, athletes, ROTC students, and fraternity and sorority members. Columbia showed how important it is to get the athletes when direct contact with the rebels is a possibility.

Individual students should also investigate the legal possibilities of bringing suit against administrations and faculty members who, by failing to enforce discipline, do not live up to their contract to teach the student. Tuition refunds, perhaps, should be demanded for courses which were announced in the college catalogue but never completed by the school.

Columbia showed the importance, for college administrations, of stating in advance the rules, appeals procedures and due process procedures governing disciplinary problems on the campus. Students who refuse to abide by these should be expelled as promptly as possible. These provisions should also provide for the regulation of organizations chartered on campus—with expulsion for those organizations acting in an illegal manner.

Civil and criminal law should also be upheld. Columbia, for example, has taken no action to date against those students who stole correspondence from the files of Dr. Kirk, then copied it and distributed the copies on campus. Common law provides that letters are unpublished literary compositions, and as such the property of their writers. They may not be published without the authors' consent. Those who steal and publish them are open to charges of theft—either grand larceny or petit larceny, depending on the value of the letters.

And it should be made explicit to campus militants that there are (in most instances) plenty of students who want to attend the institution but were turned down for lack of space, students who are willing to abide by the law. At Columbia's undergraduate college, for example, over 3,800 youths applied for the coming year; of these, acceptances were sent to 1,170 and a few hundred more were placed on a waiting list.

As far as governmental action goes, there has been an understandable reaction in both New York state and in the entire nation over the Columbia demonstrations.

In New York, State Sen. Earl W. Brydges, majority leader of the Republican-controlled body, introduced a bill to deny state financial assistance to any student convicted of committing a crime "on the premises of any college." It is withering, though, in the Democratic-controlled Assembly.

And the U.S. House of Representatives has voted overwhelmingly 360-54 to deny loans, grants and other educational aid to students who take part in campus riots, sit-ins, seizures and other disruptions.

Such proposals, however, only increase the strong arm of the government, when a more ideal proposal would be to reduce governmental power *and* make certain the government is not subsidizing riots by taking the entire student class off the dole.

The federal government only entered the field when it became obvious that private sources were able to meet the college students' need for loans, thus threatening to deprive the collectivists of the control that comes with the power to subsidize. It is time to return the financing of college education to the students and the private market.

In this regard it is refreshing to find William S. Paley—chairman of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and a life trustee of Columbia University—telling graduating students at the University of Pennsylvania that "There is much to be said for amortization plans enabling students to pay the real costs of their education, rather than only approximately a third of it, with the rest coming out of endowment or current gifts.

Communist party head Gus Hall has boasted: ". . . We've got the DuBois Clubs, SNCC and the SDS going for us."

"At today's levels there is a difference of perhaps $8,000 between what a college education costs and what the tuition covers. A system could be devised to make it possible for the student . . . to repay this difference over future years."

There are some hopeful signs that other institutions will profit by the mistakes made by Columbia University. When Negro students at the University of Chicago seized its administration building, imprisoned the working staff in the building, and cut off all outgoing telephone calls, the university presented them with an ultimatum. If they would not vacate the building by 5 p.m., they would be suspended, and if they held it after 6 p.m. they would be expelled. They made the first deadline.

And similar strong action was taken at Brooklyn College after the first wave of Columbia riots, when 42 New Left students barricaded themselves in the registrar's office. They said they would refuse to vacate the office until Brooklyn agreed to admit 1,000 Negro and Puerto Rican students by September.

The militants were warned that if they did not leave, they would be suspended or expelled. Hundreds of anti-militant students threatened to charge the hall and get them out, and an attempt by Mark Rudd and other Columbia students to join the Brooklyn protest was stopped by force.

A new Ad Hoc Committee Against Student Terrorism called for expulsion and criminal prosecution of the radicals, charging they were "storm troopers" and with similar groups around the country wanted a "takeover of universities." The campus chapter of Young Americans for Freedom seconded the call for expulsion, charging that the SDS and DuBois Clubs chapters were "seeking to provoke violence and disrupt education on the campus."

The students were arrested and charged with criminal trespassing. They were expelled from the college, but with the right to appeal to a student-faculty committee. Quick action has worked, and the campus returned to the task of education.

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Five self-described U.S. Army deserters and four others who claim they are avoiding the draft gather outside the Notre Dame cathederal in Paris.

'Act' Newsletter

Sweden and France Are Ranked Best Havens for Runaway GIs

By. EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

If any reader has among our armed forces in Germany a son, husband or brother who would like to desert, he should advise him to get a copy of a newsletter called "Act."

I have not seen "Act," but according to the London *Sunday Telegraph* of May 3, 1968, it is put out by successful U.S. deserters and war resisters in Europe for the benefit of other members of the U.S. armed forces who would like to rat.

What the *Telegraph* calls the most fascinating section of "Act" is a table of European countries arranged according to their hospitality to American deserters. Here Sweden ("the safest country to go, full political rights" (sic!), "chance to work and possibility of political action against the war") comes first.

France, though second, is "almost as safe" and has the advantage of being closer to Germany where the potential deserters are stationed.

Third comes Switzerland, but watch out! Its border police "sometimes give you trouble." (How inconsiderate! Washington should speak to Bern about these border policemen.)

Fourth in hospitality, according to "Act," is a group of four small countries, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the Holland, all "supposed to be unfriendly" to U.S. sneakaways but actually try hard "to avoid seeing things."

At the bottom of the list, "Act" puts England, "still risky," Italy, "bad, and police unfriendly" and lowest of all, West Germany, which "arrests and returns" deserters to U.S. Army authorities.

It is therefore normal that, still according to "Act," Sweden shelters the most U.S. deserters (52 at the time of writing), France the second largest number, with Denmark just above Switzerland, Norway, Holland and Belgium. But the list may soon change, since several legal "test cases are now in progress," presumably hoping to demonstrate what success the United States will have in asking to have the offenders extradited. "If you want to become one, see a lawyer," "Act" suggests.

Topping the fun, if you find it funny, is the editors' indication of the address to which to apply if you would like to receive this quaintly seditious newsletter. A prominent item in "Act" read:

"Want more? Write J. P. Sartre, P. B. 130, Paris 14."

Sartre, in case the reader has forgotten, is the French writer and existentialist philosopher who became famous by proclaiming life absurd, glorifying certain atrocities (as under Stalin) as aids to human dignity and in 1964 flatly refusing the Nobel Peace Prize.

Existentialism, with which I became familiar when Sartre was still in high school, is the appropriate philosophy of beaten peoples (Germany after 1918, France after 1940) who need an excuse for their defeat.

Even those of us who have not found life absurd must recognize that Sartre's life has been a series of absurdities, notably his near-communism. It is therefore fitting that he should be lending his address to deserters from those U.S. armed forces thanks to which France chiefly owes its present independence.

And yet, somehow, I find it sad.

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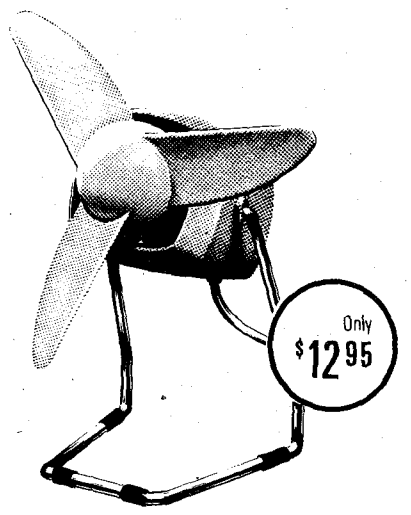

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Private Letter to Derwinski

How Bowles Tries to Sell Bigger U.S. Aid to India

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The letter from New Delhi, India, dated April 16, displayed the embossed seal of the United States Embassy. Across the top of the first page, in bold capitalized letters, was this solemn warning:

PERSONAL, PRIVATE, AND OFF-THE-RECORD.

Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was understandably intrigued. He found himself saluted as "Dear Ed" and turned to the signature at the end of the 1,500-word message. It was that of American Ambassador to India Chester Bowles, who inscribed himself "with warmest regards" as "Chet."

As Derwinski read, he found that he was being urged personally, privately, and off-the-record to turn a deaf ear to any nonsense he might have about any danger to the United States involved in India's construction of a mighty military machine with the aid of the Soviet Union.

It was true, Bowles conceded, that India, while accepting billions in food and technical assistance from the United States to avert famine, now had the largest non-Communist army in the world, second only to the United States. Russia, through rupee loans, had financed this military modernization.

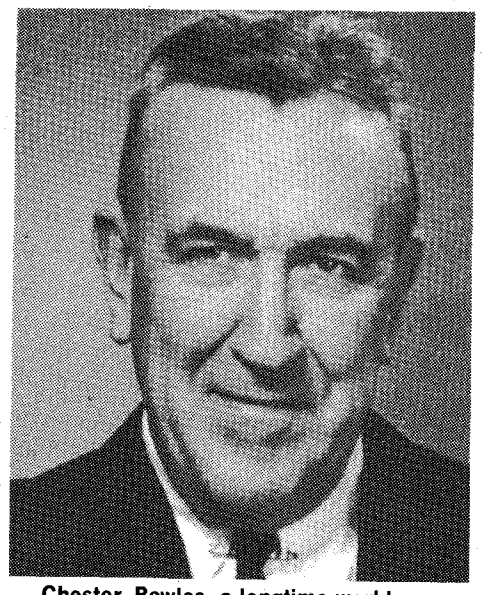
But India, he continued, could not be blamed for becoming virtually dependent upon the Soviet Union for jet fighters, missiles, tanks, frigates and submarines. Its leaders had vainly sought military aid from the United States and were "deeply disappointed at being forced to go to the Soviets."

Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.) decided his correspondence from Ambassador to India Chester Bowles was too interesting to be kept private.

There was much more along the same line. Derwinski knew that he and other members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, working on President Johnson's request for $2.9 billion in foreign aid, including $706 million for India, Pakistan and Turkey, were being pressured not to penalize India for accepting a role as a front for Communist expansion in southern Asia.

The more he considered the Bowles "off-the-record" approach, the more indignant Derwinski became. On May 21 he fired off an answer:

"One of the basic defects of our foreign policy is exemplified by performances such as yours. You are apparently far more interested in the



Chester Bowles, a longtime workhorse in the liberal stable, is urging congressmen not to worry about Indo-Soviet defense cooperation.

well-being of the government of India than you are in the United States of America.

"The only conclusion I can reach is that you are an active lobbyist for foreign aid to the government of India. Perhaps it would be in order for the State Department to have you return to the States for an extended period of consultation and emphasize the basic obligation you have to the citizens and taxpayers of the United States of America."

This blunt language, presumably, did not ruffle Bowles. A millionaire advertising man, now 67, who retired in 1941 to embark on a public career, his devotion to the interests of foreign countries, especially India, has often earned him epithets in Congress.

His letter spoke, somewhat condescendingly, of the "near total lack of understanding" both in Congress and in the American press, of India's problems.

This had led, he said, "to a certain amount of confusion and exasperation . . . misconceptions" about India's intentions. He gave comforting assurance that "the well-trained and highly motivated Indian army is a major asset, not a liability, to the United States."

Derwinski thought Bowles, himself, needed "enlightenment" and mailed him a copy of the Washington report of the American Security Council which recently published an authoritative summary of India's military buildup. Its conclusion: "India is indeed the new spearhead for Russian penetration in Asia in 1968."

Derwinksi, who has access to secret intelligence reports as an influential member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, agreed with the report's comment that:

"At the very time the United States was rushing between 16 and 17 million tons of food to prevent a famine in India in 1967, New Delhi made a deal with the Soviet Union for the purchase of $600 million worth of jet fighter bombers to modernize the already large Indian air force."

"The Indian formula," the report noted, "appears to be to spend its desperately strained funds on building its military might, primarily with Moscow's help, and then turn appealingly to the rest of the world to bail its people out of famine and deprivation."

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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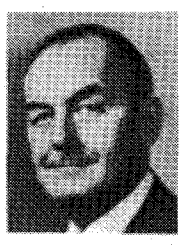
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

AID Takes Advice

By SEN. JOHN WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)



Several weeks ago, during hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations on the foreign aid authorization bill, I called to the attention of AID Administrator William S. Guad some examples of what certainly appeared to be wholly indefensible wastes of agency funds in the assistance program in the Dominican Republic.

Specifically, I referred to a report that showed that the American taxpayer was paying for such reconstruction and development items as bubble gum, $2,831; outboard motors, $4,-610.51; ladies electric razors, $76.50; television sets, $12,535; and what appeared to be a mammoth cocktail party which included $3,430.70 worth of sherry wine, and a total of $5,253.37 for cocktail glasses, salad sets, and so forth.

Several of us on the committee expressed the strong feeling that these items were not essential to the restoration of peace on that Caribbean island republic.

Although we were assured at the time by Mr. Gaud that none of the aforementioned items was on the authorized list and that claims had been filed and AID expected to be reimbursed for them, Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) and I felt that preventive action rather than an attempt at reimbursement was to be preferred.

I am pleased to advise that AID has agreed to our suggestion and has proposed new regulations which became effective May 13, 1968, under which the agency would screen commodity transactions before they are shipped or financed. Mr. Gaud has advised me by letter that these regulations have been prepared and will be published in the *Federal Register* immediately.

Incongruous Spending

By REP. JAMES CLEVELAND (R.-N.H.)

I led an unsuccessful fight two weeks ago in the Public Works Committee to kill a bill that would provide money ($1.25 million) to acquire a site for a new Senate Office Building (estimated cost, $30 million). This legislation was approved by a 12-to-7 vote in committee. I hope to have more success on the floor of the House. It seems incongruous at a time like this to be spending money to further this sort of project. But politics is a strange business indeed, as witnessed by the fact that there are some who find in these troubled times that the answer to our problems is a "politics of joy."

The Times' Tint

By REP. JOHN ASHBROOK (R.-Ohio)

Some time ago, I started putting excerpts from the New York *Times* into the *Congressional Record* under the heading "All the News Fit to Tint." I am always amazed how many liberal professors tell their students that the New York *Times* is objective and put it on the required reading agenda. It is a great newspaper, has wide breadth of coverage and is influential. It is all of these things, but it certainly is not and has not been objective. It is liberal, internationalist, and a constant advocate of big government socialism.

In their Saturday, May 25 issue, they show some of their tinting at its best. In their editorial column, under the heading of "Congressional Primaries," they engage in the usual liberal jibes at those members of Congress they dislike and choose not to support. They use the following to categorize the incumbents they do not like "with a long record of mediocrity behind him," "retirement to private life is overdue," "the reactionary Republican," "used his power over State Department appropirations so imperiously," and "the rather stodgy incumbents."

You would think that any newspaper which could use this type of English to describe congressmen could do a little better job in referring to Bayard Rustin and Rev. Ralph Abernathy. You would have thought they could have put Mr. Rustin's record in proper perspective by slipping in a phrase here and there like "Mr. Rustin, who has served time in federal prisons for violation of the Selective Service Act" or "Mr. Rustin, whose convictions for sex offenses include a jail sentence for sodomy." But then it is not surprising either.

I never did say the New York *Times* was either objective or fair. All of the news fit to tint, as I have always said.

Pollution Problems

By REP. ROBERT TAFT JR. (R.-Ohio)

The recent directive from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare aimed at cleaning up air pollution in the Washington, D.C., area encouraged those of us who have been complaining about air pollution—not only in Washington, but throughout the country. Surprisingly, however, HEW's recommendation failed to cover federal *facilities, including the failure to cover, for instance, even the National Institutes of Health in the Department of HEW itself. Overall, federal facilities which are not covered pump over 63,000 tons of pollutants into Washington's air each year. This only demonstrates once again the Administration seems to be less than sincere in its statements about making the District of Columbia a model community insofar as air pollution is concerned.*

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• *House conservatives have blocked an Administration-backed attempt to* reduce the amount of budget-cutting that will accompany LBJ's requested **income tax surcharge**. Liberal Democrats introduced a measure ordering a House-Senate conference to chop the cut from $6 to 4 billion, but were defeated 259-to-137. It now appears likely that Congress will soon approve the 10 per cent surcharge and $6-billion reduction in fiscal 1969 budget expenditures.

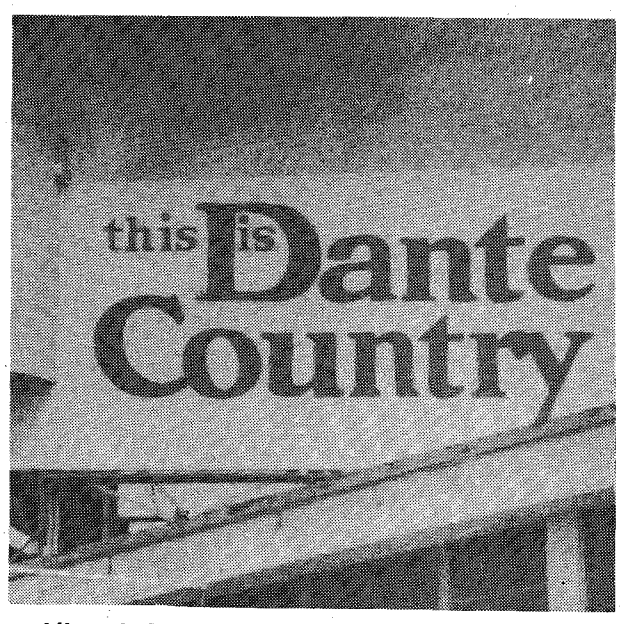
• Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) finally got his way when new Defense Secretary Clark Clifford agreed to appear before the committee in support of the Administration's **foreign aid authorization bill** (S 3091). Fulbright had threatened to sit on the bill until Clifford made an appearance. Now that Fulbright is satisfied, his committee should report the $2.9-billion bill (only $420 million of which is for military aid) to the Senate floor where conservatives are expected to wield their economy knives.

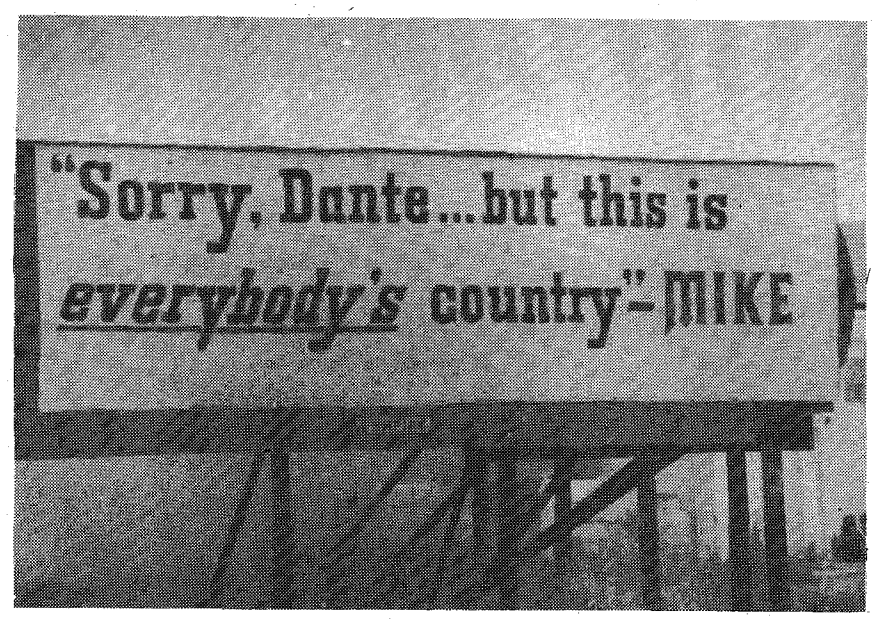
• A major battle is shaping up in the House over the Administration's farm program, particularly the section dealing with **food stamps** that are distributed in poverty areas for purchase of food by those earning less than the "poverty level." In early May the House Agriculture Committee passed HR 17126, a routine bill extending for one year LBJ's basic farm support programs; liberals on the House Rules Committee, however, succeeded in blocking HR 17126 from going to the House floor until the Agriculture Committee agreed to approve an increase in the food stamp program. The liberals, led by Rep. Leonor Sullivan (D.-Mo.), are pushing an Administration bill (HR 15900) which would boost food stamp appropriations from $225 to $245 million in fiscal 1969. The matter is now at a standoff, with action one way or another expected shortly. The Senate has already passed the Administration's requested appropriations boost (S 3068).

• By a lopsided 349-to-5 rollcall vote the House has passed a $1-billion, two-year (fiscal '69 and '70) bill to **aid needy college students.** Two important amendments added in the House reflect widespread congressional concern over recent student campus demonstrations. A provision added by Rep. Louis Wyman (R.-N.H.) denies federal loan money to any student refusing to obey "a lawful regulation or order" of his college if school officials determine that the refusal contributed to the "disruption of university or college administration." An amendment offered by Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa), cutting off funds to persons convicted in any court of inciting or participating in a riot, was also overwhelmingly approved. Senate liberals can now be expected to oppose both amendments.

• Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has vowed to lead a bipartisan filibuster against the Administration's bill to **grant the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission broad new powers** in enforcing anti-discrimination legislation (S 3465). As reported by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the measure authorizes the EEOC to hold hearings on charges of discrimination brought against employers or unions and, if the charges are upheld, to issue cease-and-desist orders against allegedly guilty parties. Minority Leader Dirksen describes the powerful measure as "one of the most offensive pieces of legislation that could come before Congress" and is lining up the support of Republicans and conservative Democrats for his threatened filibuster.

Billboard Campaigning–1968 Style





Liberal Rep. Dante Fascell (D.-Fla.) thought he had a clever campaign ploy when he put up the billboard at left on a heavily traveled Miami highway in his district. But he was soon topped by his conservative Republican opponent Mike Thompson who put up his unusual billboard answer only a few hundred yards away from the Fascell declaration.

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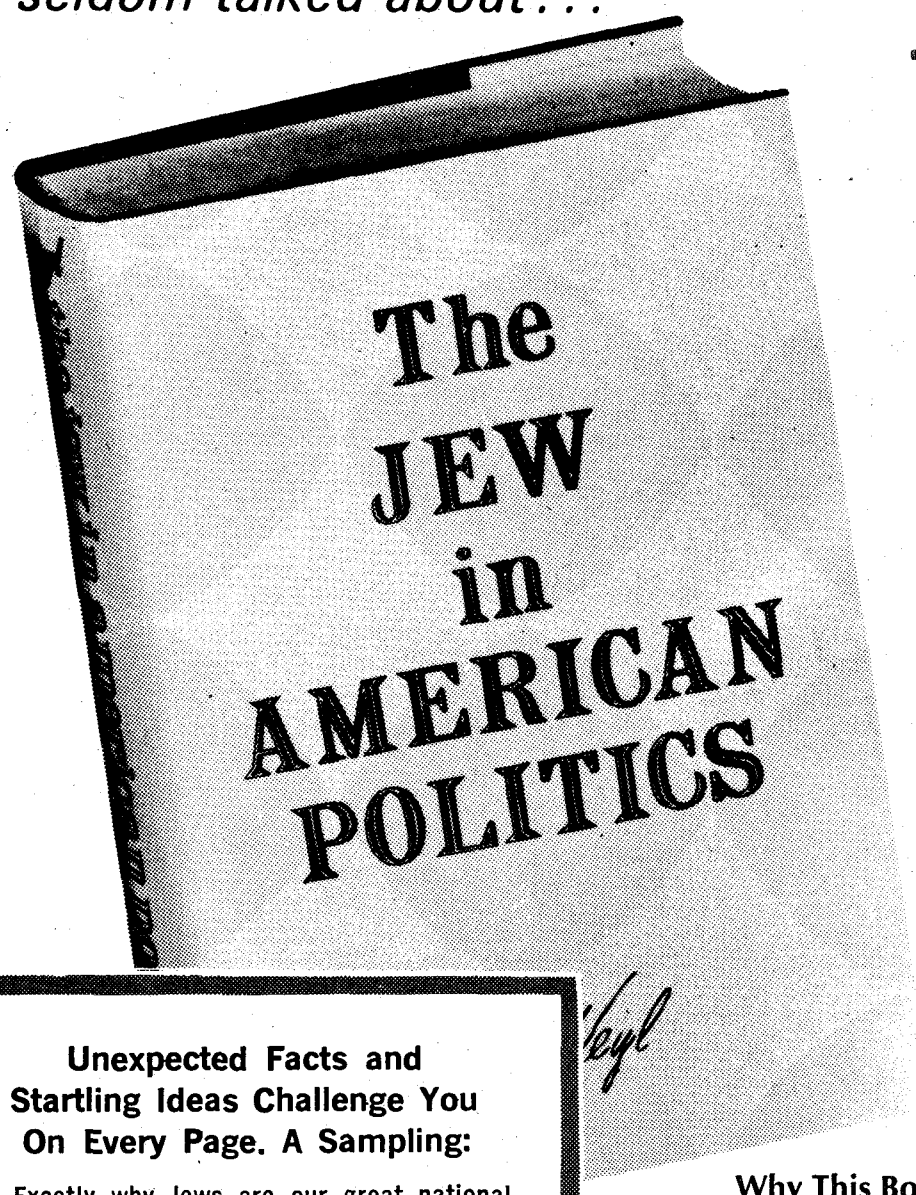

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